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THE EDITORS

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT
IN CHILDREN

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PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT IN CHILDREN

By
ERNEST J. CHAVE
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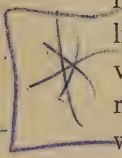
To my children

MARGARET
GRANT
KEITH

PREFACE

This book seeks to give a comprehensive picture of the factors involved in the developing personalities of children. It proceeds upon the basic assumption that there are three main influences working together to shape the lives of these growing persons: (1) heredity, (2) environment, and (3) the growing self. Many partial studies have been made of personality at different age levels and of characteristics of children's behavior under particular conditions, and these present an increasing body of data vital to any intelligent direction of the educational process. However, without some assemblage of these findings and identification of those elements which are relevant to an understanding of character and personality, it is impossible to build an adequate philosophy of character and personality guidance. In order to appreciate the relative significance of facts, one must see them in perspective and interrelationship. The purpose of this book is to gather together facts and conclusions of different writers in the fields of child study, to show the varied approaches to an understanding of human nature, and to suggest some promising procedures for educators trying to help shape personalities.

✓ Personality is such a complex concept, and so tantalizingly vague, that many are tempted to avoid the general problem and to confine themselves to atomistic descriptions of limited phases of behavior. Nevertheless, children are complex beings, and they are likely to be misunderstood if only partial views are taken of their

NE 20-  characteristics and conduct. Properly to evaluate any element of conduct, one needs to have as background a rather complete picture of the many factors which have made an individual what he is and those which tend to limit what he may become. Children do not operate in a vacuum, or live on desert islands, but are continually responding to stimulating and changing environments where many alternative procedures are possible. They are bombarded from birth by necessity and opportunity and are conditioned by many different motivating forces. Every chapter of this book reveals the multiplicity and complexity of factors involved in any adequate discussion of our subject.

The author has attempted to make a topographical survey of the field as a whole, to mark the outstanding mountain peaks, and to indicate some of the resources in the fertile land of child life. An educator needs to know something of the discoveries of biologists, psychologists, and social psychologists, as well as developments in the fields of ethics, religion, and education. It is impossible for educators to accept full responsibility for integrating and correlating findings from such a rich and varied body of sources. If a good educational philosophy is to be developed with respect to character and personality, and if practical assistance is to be given to those responsible for counseling in the involved problems of developing child life, frequent conferences and co-operative studies of workers in different fields must be arranged. This book is intended primarily to serve educators, students in preparation for teaching, workers in the field of child guidance, and that increasing group of parents who are reading widely in child psychology.

The book opens with a discussion of the meanings of character and personality, introducing the reader to the theories of the emergence of a self-conscious ego in the animal organism. It then directs attention to the native equipment of the child, the laws of heredity, the organic structure and physiological functioning of different organs, and the intellectual and emotional adjustive capacities and mechanisms. These first five chapters describe the basic qualities of human nature as they genetically appear and develop in children. They reveal the fundamental assets as well as the possible liabilities inherent in the organismic foundations of personality. The next five chapters present the environmental conditioning factors—play situations, homes, schools, neighborhoods, churches, and other social institutions—and indicate the particular ways in which these are influencing behavior and shaping character and personality. As these socializing experiences result in habits and attitudes, the outcomes are judged to be good or bad according to the prevailing standards of those interested in them. Two chapters are devoted to the consideration of problems which arise from handicaps and maladjustments, serving by contrast with the more normal situations to emphasize the essential qualities of wholesome, well-developed personalities. One chapter is given to a brief review of methods and techniques most commonly used in the study of children, and the last chapter sums up the findings, suggesting conditions needed for the best integrated outcomes. The whole survey reveals the incomplete state of knowledge on the many factors involved in personality growth but uncovers promising fields for continued investigation and co-operative studies.

The writer is indebted to many unnamed persons for ideas used in the pages of this book. Due recognition is given for direct quotations and for some sources, but as in similar cases it is impossible to do credit to all who have contributed to the total product. Special obligation is, however, expressed to those who have read the manuscript and made important suggestions for revision of parts: to his colleagues in the Divinity School—W. C. Bower and E. E. Aubrey—to S. G. Cole, who has recently published a significant book closely related to this study, *Character and Christian Education*; to Professor Sewall Wright, of the University of Chicago, for suggestions in chapters ii and iii; and to his wife, Winnifred, for careful critical comments and assistance at every stage of its progress.

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CHAPTER I

HOW PERSONALITY GROWS

∠ Personality is that range of possibilities in a growing child which is the constant concern of parents and educators. It is that subtle something which they feel must be discovered, released, stimulated, nurtured, guided, and controlled. It gives evidences of its qualities at birth, but it is the supreme achievement of a lifetime. It is the joint product of heredity and experience and is revealed in its making at every shifting change of its development. It is continually made and remade and yet is the cumulative result of all that it ever was, is, and is becoming. Its greatest forces are hidden deep, and most educators touch only the surface. There are natural qualities and assets which education cannot provide but which without guidance may never mature. There are environmental resources and social experiences which education must give if latent capacities are to find their fullest realization.

Each individual personality is to a large degree a reflection of the personalities with whom he has interaction. He is different from all others but is shaped and modified by each one with whom he has any significant relationships. Each person and each group with whom he deals stimulates him in a different way, calls forth different responses, and causes him to find in himself different possibilities. His personality grows as he shares life with others and they with him.) He takes roles, finds patterns of behavior into which he must fit, experiments as far as he can, and becomes more or less socialized with indi-

vidual variations from whatever types environment sets before him.

Some writers speak of personality more in terms of its achievements than of its characteristics at birth. In fact, some would say that personality is a social product and that its inherited factors are not definitive of its later attainments. One recent investigator, however, feels that the marks of personality are plain at birth. In her study of *The First Two Years*¹ Mary M. Shirley says, "Differences in personality were apparent in some babies at birth, and in all within the first three months. The traits changed somewhat with age and experience, but always in ways that seemed compatible with the original personality 'nucleus,' to use a biological analogy." In her conclusions she adds, "Each baby exhibits a characteristic pattern of personality traits that changes little with age. . . . The results indicate that personality has its origin and physiological basis in the structure and organization of the nervous system and of the physico-chemical constitution of the body as a whole."

Born with an organism ready to act in certain ways, according to the patterns laid down in the germ cell, but with no fixed, unalterable structure or predetermined growth lines, the baby has before him many alternative possibilities. Jennings says, "Every individual has within him the possibility of many diverse careers. His genes do not condemn him to one fate only. They are responsible for a large proportion of the variety of behaviors but not for all of it."² A child is born into an environment which has many different sets of stimuli, some at cross-

¹ University of Minnesota Press, 1934. III, 207-20.

² H. S. Jennings, "Nature and Nurture," *Survey Magazine*, April, 1931.

purposes, and all operating in chance combinations unless controlled in educationally planned programs. Nature provides for resistance to any compulsory control and seems to encourage initiative and self-assertion. With resources within and without, but with many social forces interested in his mastery, the individual struggles to find a satisfying place for himself in the world of people and things. His organism has certain selective preferential sensitivities, and this discriminating capacity is perhaps his main asset. He is not a victim of circumstances but has power to recognize differences, to give attention to what he will, to remember experiences, and to control and modify the conditions which play upon him.

For a year or two a young dog will learn faster than a child and make better adjustments to the demands of his physical and social environment. But gradually the child gains on him, soon surpassing him in all his abilities. The superior neuromuscular mechanisms of the child and the developing self-conscious powers come into play, giving him a larger freedom in choice and action. And in this advance perhaps no instrument serves him so well as language. Beginning with sounds and gestures, he is soon able to use words and sentences with meaning, expressing his attitudes and desires in ways which evoke social response. Mead says, "The transformation of the biologic individual to the minded organism or self takes place through the agency of language, while language in turn presupposes the existence of a certain kind of society and certain physiological capacities in the individual organisms."³ The dog may have memories and images of varied

³ G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. xx.

kinds, and his past experiences undoubtedly affect his present reactions, making him ready to meet future exigencies. But, as far as we know, he is unable to present to himself the significance of his former acts or to hold alternative roles in mind while he makes a choice in action. The child, on the other hand, can put a fence around any part of experience by means of language, compare one experience with another, and act as objectively to his own experience as to the acts and attitudes of others. This permits a flexibility of response quite impossible where instinct or habit controls, and it allows meanings to arise which could not arise without contrast and comparison of experiences.

Mead has probably done more than any other person to penetrate the mystery of personality which marks the essential difference between the human and lower animal. He shows how the child passes beyond the first stage of awareness to self-consciousness, building his mind as a functioning mechanism, storing experience in his delicately adjusted and marvelously correlated nervous system, and developing judgment as to the worths of alternative procedures and outcomes. "The future," he says, "does not exist for the animal; he has not the 'me' in his experience which by the response of the 'I' is in some sense under his control, so that the future may exist for him. He has no conscious past since there is no self of the sort that can be extended into the past by memories. . . . He has not the personality that looks before or after."⁴ In a social situation the child through language is able readily to identify himself with the whole of which he is a part, reflect upon its meanings, and make his adjust-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

ments mentally even before he does overtly. He can make use of the experiences of others as they share them with him in spoken or written words, and reaching back into history he can make use of racial experience, standing upon the shoulders of the past, instead of struggling on the animal level of trial and error. Language multiplies his powers for co-operative action.

In this learning process contrasts are significant, for through them meanings and values are brought to conscious levels and fixed in memory by emotional reactions. Life presents many contrasting experiences if a child is not overprotected or forced to submit to a rigorous routine. But even a baby may be prevented from the learnings which he ought to get in ordinary adjustments by well-intentioned parents who anticipate his needs and overdevotedly serve him. If there is delay when he cries, opportunity is provided for values and meanings to arise when satisfaction is later attained. Both the act and the person involved are emotionally registered, and if words are associated they are likely to be recalled and used again. Even an explosive sound like "ma-ma" may take on meaning; and, if the mother associates the sound with herself, and helps the child to keep the association, "ma-ma" may be a symbol for a satisfier of keenly felt wants. If, however, the child gets attention without delay his mother is an unidentifiable part of his surroundings. Contrasts and varied experiences demand more flexible adjustments than mechanical routine and give occasion for reflection and judgment. Words become the means for gathering general ideas and a sense of abstract qualities and facilitate a readier adjustment to changing situations. Thus, even simple sounds like "no-no" and "ya-ya" may

come to differentiate socially approved and disapproved acts. And "baby" may help the child to identify himself and to relate himself to others long before "I" or "me" have accurate connotation.

Comprehension of meanings in words and phrases and the use of conventional symbols for generalized experience come very slowly. Parents and others help the child to build up associations and to gain freedom in expression. An American baby could learn Chinese as easily as English if those about him used those sounds and assisted him in building his sounds into meaningful responses. He is ready to use any sounds as language symbols. Thus, when the writer's eldest child was fourteen months old, she said, as he was going to the basement, "Daddy beco." Her father said, "Yes, Daddy beco," and went to the basement. When he came up, he said, "Margaret beco," and she smiled a readiness and was carried to the basement. For months this term was used and served to indicate the act of going to the basement. Repetition and satisfying associations will build up meanings and give freedom in use of language. But adults may be deceived by readiness in use of words and fail to appreciate the limitation of meanings and consequent differences in attitude and action. However, growth in vocabulary and freedom in expression are good indexes of expanding personality and sense of relationships.

Between the emergence of self-consciousness and the organization of a unified personality there is a stage of lack of organization when a number of "partial selves" tend to operate with varying degrees of conflict. A "self" is a bundle of attitudes, habits, preferences, memories, thoughts, and emotional accompaniments gathered about

a recurring situation. Thus a "self" may be organized about the mother and the commonly recurring affairs in the relationships of mother and child. Another "self" may be built with the father, or nurse, or other person as the center of reference, because of differing experiences and satisfactions. These may be combined as the child

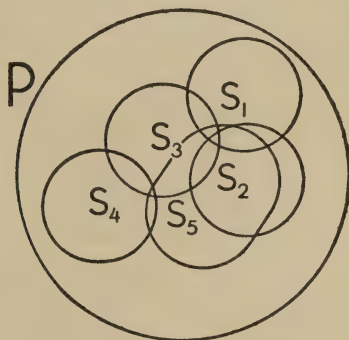


FIG. 1

grows and as minor differences are put into the background, so that a "self" may be a system of behavior in the home, and other selves will represent customary conduct in neighborhood play groups, in school, in church, or in other situations where interests and pressures require other roles. The selves may overlap more or less as suggested in Figure 1, but there are sometimes such distinct differences that different dispositions will appear, and a child may seem to be quite another person in different situations. Mead says that "a multiple personality is in a sense normal," that the social situation determines what part of a given personality may act, and that "there are all sorts of different selves answering to all sorts of

different social reactions.”⁵ In the clash of these selves and their tendencies the reflective capacity of the child grows and becomes a definite factor in personality integration. Sometimes we see a personality unified under conditions of emotional stress, but the stability of an organized personality depends upon the development of purposes and interests which transcend any particular situation or set of circumstances. A well-socialized personality does not make a chameleon-like response to changing demands, for interests, attainments, attitudes, and values must be put continually in perspective, and likes and dislikes must be balanced. A dominant self should emerge from contrasting experiences and outcomes because of a growing purpose related to an expanding interest. Little antisocial selves should find no satisfaction in a well-organized co-operative society, the truer capacities of a balanced and aspiring personality being called forth by its clearly expressed expectancies and approvals.] But it will always be difficult for an integrated personality to assert itself in a disorganized society where selfish interests are continually conflicting.

Because the child does not find consistency in his ordinary experiences, it is hard for him to work out a consistent philosophy of life. Even as a baby he finds that one person will smile on an act, while another will frown or punish him for the same or a similar response. He tends to adjust himself to the demands of persons and conditions, to take any convenient role, rather than to seek underlying principles of social conduct. We laughingly call him a little hypocrite, or regretfully lament his deceitfulness, but we know that what he finds effective is

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

likely to become habitual. He takes the role that a given situation calls for and is as inconsistent as his environment. A certain self tends to be dominant, and that self may be social or antisocial, base or idealistic, according to the prevailing pattern in his experienced satisfactions. If a child is encouraged to participate in social activities where mutual interests are respected, and if he is fortunate in sharing life with a number of persons of high social ideals, he is likely to develop a large and social personality. But, if his life is circumscribed with small interests and superficial satisfactions, he will be unable to respond generously with well-balanced social perspective. The growth of personality is dependent upon the breadth of mind of his parents and most frequent associates, for it is with them that he has most of his social interactions, and they either call out from him the expression of an effective personality or repress him, causing him to assume an inferior role. Parents may spoil a child by devoting themselves too much to him, causing him to be selfish, overexpectant of others, and dependent.

Many tend to explain the reflection of desirable and undesirable characteristics by assuming an instinct of imitation. Those who do so hardly understand the complexity of such a reaction, or the physical structure that would be necessary to equip one for that kind of response. There is probably no direct imitation in either animal or child, although the common interpretation of many acts is to the contrary. (Persons of like organic structure, with common needs and tendencies, are likely to be stimulated in the same way by the same acts and gestures.) Responses vary, however, according to the attention given to different factors in the stimulating situation, or

because of different desires or associations. Persons seem to imitate one another when some significant factor in a social situation stimulates each in the same way, or when one tends to take the role of another and stimulates himself in the same way that the other has done or is doing. In the vocal gesture Mead finds a condition in which an animal or child may be stimulated by its own vocal sound and respond in the same way as it would to the sound from another. Likewise, when a child by any act or by use of language calls out an attitude in himself that he tends to call out in others, the response will be similar and will be strengthened by the act. People living in close social relations are constantly, consciously and unconsciously, taking similar attitudes and responding to similar stimuli. Direct imitation would require a nervous system set up in patterns of response and immediately connected with muscles or glands ready for any type of reaction, whether the organism had previous experience of similar kind or not. But this explanation of Mead is much simpler, suggesting a mechanism of response quite in keeping with the degree of accuracy manifest in different levels of age and skill.⁶ It suggests also why an act of "imitation" is never an exact copy of the given stimulus, and yet has a similar pattern. Nature, a lover of individuality, does not duplicate her forms. Personality is a social product without a standard brand.

As one tries to classify the different factors which contribute toward the building of a growing child's personality, two basic forces stand out clearly—heredity and environment—and a third appears very shortly after birth and gains more importance as growth goes on. This

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-68.

third factor is not always considered in discussions of human nature, and yet it is the one which causes the individual to move from the lower animal level to the higher and more complex personality form. These three forces—heredity, environment, and the growing self—work in close interrelation, sometimes reinforcing one another but often coming into conflict. It is impossible to separate them as causative factors in any phase of conduct, and yet their major lines of force are easily discernible.

The hereditary forces operate to control the structural organization, the sensory-muscular patterns, the shape and kind of features and figure, the sensitivity of responses, the alertness of mind, and like characteristics of the growing individual. They affect his behavior as a functioning organism, limit his capacities for expression and growth, and determine in large measure whether people will be attracted to him, how they will act toward him, and how he will respond. The biologist tells us that the chemical determiners of heredity act continuously throughout life in every cell of the body. What a child is, what he may become, and even what he may want to become, are strongly influenced by his genes. These links with the past are nature's way of laying a racial foundation for each individual, of giving each person some feeling of kinship with his fellows, and of setting his desires in a social direction. Yet, in the provision for flexibility of adjustment and response, individualities are preserved and life is made interesting. A detailed study of these genetic forces will be made in the next chapter.

The physical environment into which the child is born will furnish food and nourishment for the growing needs of the body, and ceaselessly stimulate him to ad-

just to its demands and opportunities. Nature provides a marvelous protection for the beginnings of life, and when she ushers the child into the outer world, she introduces him into a realm of large resources but of great hazards. Even at birth a few drops of silver nitrate put in the eyes of the infant by the physician may make the difference between blindness and normal sight. Economic conditions may prevent the mother and infant from obtaining the right kind or quantity of food, medical care, or other necessities for proper health, handicapping the child with an undernourished body or improperly functioning glands. Wrong kinds of food, given because of ignorance or poverty, may affect organic development and neuromuscular reactions, making important differences in latent capacities. Surroundings may mean refinement and abundant privileges, or degradation and bare existence—there are all degrees of advantage and stimulating incentive for growing lives. It may be possible in many instances to improve the physical conditions, to enrich the environment, to give a child a fair chance for ennobling and satisfying experiences, but sometimes it is necessary to help a child transcend his limitations, to rise above his surroundings. Lincoln was born in a log cabin, and Booker T. Washington in slavery, but they developed attitudes which made them masters of circumstance instead of victims. Such cases are, of course, the exception, for there are far more illustrations of poor environment handicapping and even damning a child before he is ready to cope with it than of better physical conditions giving release to talent and power. The educator has two ways to deal with environment—one, to work for its improvement and to guide

the growing child to appreciate and use its privileges; the other, to take those conditions which are not improvable and to stimulate a child to do his best with his given situation until he is able to change it or to escape into better surroundings. Most physical situations have greater possibilities in them than are used, and at their worst they are not likely to cramp personality so that the third force cannot set it free. The social heritage brings the learnings of the race through the ages to the aid of the child, and, if he is fortunate, he need not struggle as the cave child but may profit by the benefits of invention, discovery, and evolving civilization. Society owes to every child a twentieth-century environmental opportunity.

Everyone whom a child meets and to whom he responds and every group in which he participates leave a certain impression upon him, but those of his immediate social world with whom he has multiple contacts are the ones who influence him most. It makes a great difference who the child's parents are, whether they are well mated, old or young, intelligent or feeble-minded, rich or poor, cultured or uncultured, honest or dishonest. He tends to reflect their attitudes and to follow their patterns of behavior. Family conditions vary, and the child's personality is affected accordingly, though not in uniform or easily predictable ways. He may be an only child, one of a large family, a latecomer in a well-grown family, or an unwanted child—each peculiar set of conditions will leave its mark. He may have a broken home through death, divorce, or other cause; he may have a tenement home, an isolated rural home, or one in the midst of culture; he may have good playmates and many friends, or he may

Bogdan



be a lonely child, but, whatever his lot, favorable or unfavorable, his personality reveals the social setting. His schoolmates, teachers, and other associates in weekday, Sunday, and special classes, all have a part in shaping his disposition, his intellect, his emotional attitudes, and his desires and ambitions. Some of those who make up his social circle will inspire and support his best efforts, but some will paralyze him with fears and worries. Some will stimulate his mind and imagination with worthy thoughts and purposes, but some will tend to debase him. People influence him at every turn, for good or for evil, for expression or for repression.

But the child affects himself. At a very early age he shows a capacity to give attention to certain things and to inhibit attention from others. As he becomes self-conscious he talks to himself, censors his own acts, and gradually develops the reflective ability necessary to weigh the alternatives of a situation before acting. He learns to hold a mood or to change it as circumstances seem to warrant. He is not a passive victim of either heredity or environment. He can select, invent, co-operate with others, and more or less freely pursue what end he will. A child, to a very large degree, holds his own destiny in his hands, and it is important for parents and educators to help him appreciate his own powers as early as possible. They should give him opportunity to feel his own abilities, his possibilities, his own worth; to realize the resources at his command; and to play as significant a role as he can in the world in which he lives. Little attention needs to be directed toward the attainment of abstract virtues, but a great deal toward finding interesting undertakings, exploring unknown territory, and

assuming responsibilities for difficult tasks. Personality should be the by-product of as large and adventurous living as a child is capable of at his age and in his given surroundings.

↳ To move wisely in child guidance a parent or educator should know these three forces in personality development and watch their operation in different phases of everyday life. It is useless to exhort a child to be better, or to exemplify certain traits, if one does not help to create a situation in which he will find satisfaction if he moves in the approved direction. Many times one stimulus is inhibited by another, and a child becomes confused as to the best way to proceed. The skilful educator will find ways to reinforce the child's social acts and to make his unsocial behavior unsatisfying. One must not be impatient, however, for the results of guidance are cumulative. Insight improves, and relative values change; the child learns to take more factors into consideration, to use better judgment, and to act less impulsively. Likes and dislikes shift through ordinary experiences and through education, and the educator may take advantage of this flexibility to condition his responses. >

These primary forces suggest four different approaches to the study and interpretation of personality growth—the biological, the behavioristic, the socio-psychological, and the functional-psychological. The first regards personality as the predetermined result of an inherited genetic order. It lays emphasis upon eugenics as the best way of producing good human stock, since it provides for the most favorable combination of ancestral genes. Much of the theory underlying this point of view is taken from comparative studies of plants and animals, and the con-

clusions for the more complex human forms are inferential. Biology reveals amazing natural provisions for the development and operation of a physical organism, but it sometimes appears to set the method of growth and action within such rigid laws that there is little an educator may do, and less that the individual may be responsible for in the outcomes of his acts. It may do a great deal to help us understand the probable lines of force in genetic controls, to appreciate the possible influences of glands, nutrition, disease, and other conditioning factors, but we have to search farther to get other data regarding personality growth that the methods of biology cannot discover. Biology limits its studies to organic behavior without attempting to solve the more intricate problems of self-conscious relationships of the developing individual.

The behaviorist also gives primary attention to organic behavior, making personality the end product of a habit system, the result of planned and unplanned conditionings of the innate patterns. John B. Watson goes so far as to say that any normal child with proper environment and training can be made into "any type of specialist I might select—doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief, and, yes, even beggar-man and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations and race of his ancestors."⁷ Though few will go as far as this behaviorist, the emphasis placed upon the methods of conditioning behavior and of objective study is a wholesome offset to the earlier dependence upon observation of incidental behavior and introspection. As a result of the experiments of Pavlov and Bechterev, the conditioned response became

⁷ *Behaviorism* (New York: Norton & Co., 1930), p. 82.

the key to habit formation, and much fruitful study has resulted. Fears, prejudices, likes, and dislikes were found to be largely the outcome of conditionings by happy or unhappy associations, and much education consisted in reconditioning undesirable habits and attitudes. The stage may be set for encouragement of a desired form of response, and the stimuli of the planned physical environment may be strong influences in securing favorable co-operation.

The social psychologist sees the individual striving to play a significant role in the various intimate groups of society, with personality determined by the dominating culture patterns.⁸ Behavior is interpreted in the light of the social situation in which it occurs. Education is evaluated from the standpoint of the social patterns which are set for individuals and groups to follow, and of the methods used to bring social pressure to bear upon conduct. The "pulls and pushes" which a child feels in his social environment are powerful influences affecting his choices and fixing his habits by emotional adjustments. Cultural heritages are passed on from generation to generation, modified to a degree by changing conditions, but acting at each stage as the defining mores for that generation. The family is the "cradle of personality," and the wider social world opens the way for its multiple expression. The child finds a certain role expected of him at home, a somewhat different one in play, and still others at school and in other situations, the varied expectations widening his conception of himself and of his possible place in the total scheme of things. Likewise he takes the roles of

⁸ Cf. E. F. Krueger and W. C. Reckless, *Social Psychology* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1933), chap. xv.

others and enters into their experiences, sharing their attitudes and values, and interacting most intimately because of this capacity. Thus he becomes acquainted with social customs and contrasts one with another, gradually building up a philosophy of his own and a set of habits which meet his social needs. If he has to play a role that is not satisfying, he will tend to seek compensatory activities some of which may be quite unsocial. Parents and educators have to reckon constantly with the fact that a child is not an isolated individual but a member of different social groups with whom he is more or less closely identified, and whose values shape his. From this point of view satisfactory or unsatisfactory development is related to the kinds of adjustment made to the people with whom he lives and whose approval he seeks.

The functional-psychological approach deals primarily with the ego—the self-conscious phase of personality—regards the individual as one working for self-realization, and directs attention to the manifestation of innate or acquired desires. This type of study sometimes degenerates into an attempt to explain all behavior on the basis of one or two fundamental desires, such as those for food and sex, attributing any disorganization of personality to frustration or repression of these desires. The explanation of children's behavior on the basis of these two primary desires is not realistic, for, though they may have strong food interests, sex desires are indistinct. Generalizations seem to have been based very largely upon data from case studies of persons who are somewhat mature. Interests of children have been found to be more in physical activities, in play, in getting attention and response, in satisfying a restless, vague desire to be doing

something. It is difficult for an adult to appreciate the critical elements of a young child's desires, and it is hard for a child to express them satisfactorily in words. As the child grows, his verbal responses become one important index to his wants and wishes, and in studies of growing personality certain significant data may be obtained from introspective probings. Piaget and others have warned us of the careful ways in which these studies must be made and have shown the limitations of conclusions drawn from such sources. However, as the adult must put any observations of children through his subjective reactionary process, interpretations of adults may not be much closer to the descriptions of actual happenings than the child's own version. Undoubtedly a child's satisfactions and dissatisfactions are revealed in what he says as well as in what he does. Children do not have the same reasons for inhibiting their feeling responses as adults, and, when they do want to conceal their real attitudes, they can deceive in act as well as words. The functional-psychological approach is concerned, then, with those types of experience which are helping a child to find his own worth, or which are preventing him from realizing his possibilities. It seeks to find how far a child has definite interests, to what degree his behavior is organized about them, how far this out-reaching of the individual is socially approvable, and what can be done to help him find full and satisfying expression for his latent capacities.

From this brief survey a reader will recognize the necessity for a pluralistic approach to the study of developing personality. With a knowledge of the biological assets and liabilities of a child and a comprehensive picture of

his environing influences, one is ready to deal with the forms of his desires and the possibilities of a satisfactorily integrated personality. A buoyant and effective type of response must come from happy interplay with others, from the give-and-take of adjustments where identification with social outcomes transcends any individualistic desires. Confidence and humility must grow together to reduce strains and conflicts to a minimum. A chance to express himself freely is essential, and yet the responsibility of judging his own conduct and of controlling himself with regard to social expectations must be accepted. He will make mistakes, try the patience of his parents and teachers, often appear terribly slow in becoming socialized, but he must either be given freedom with these hazards or be subjected to depersonalizing regimentation. The secrets of guiding personality development are not in general principles which deal with "averages" but with delicate adjustments, tactful suggestions, and trustful patience. A small difference in a meaningful moment may cause a distinct shift in conduct, favorable or otherwise.

In this chapter the term "personality" has been used more frequently than character, though some writers use them interchangeably. It is probably useful to differentiate by making personality the more inclusive term and by giving character an ethical connotation. Thus, personality is what a person is—the total expression being revealed only in a lifetime, but the strength or weakness being judged in every important social adjustment⁹—while character is a judgment upon an individual's be-

⁹ Cf. W. C. Bower, *Character through Creative Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. 42; P. M. Symonds, *The Nature of Conduct*, (New York: Macmillan, 1928), chap. xv.

havior, called good or bad according to the judgment of the individual, or as it meets or fails to meet the standards of a particular social group. It is called strong or weak according as the individual shows ability to set standards for himself, to act independently, and to keep persistently to a high social behavior.

Whatever the hereditary, environmental, and personal assets, they require a chance to develop without undue repression, for freedom is essential to growth. The individual is always a member of a social group, and he has no right to act without consideration of others. He must become sensitive to the desires, needs and rights of others and control his desires and activities so as to permit the happiest functioning of all concerned. In guidance there is a perpetual problem as to how to provide each individual with a fair opportunity for an abundant and satisfying life and yet not make him dependent or too expectant. At this stage of civilization it is unfortunate if a child has to follow the costly and slow process of trial and error when he might profit by racial experience. There is still much pioneering to be done and many inventions to be discovered, but critical thinking and creative production may be stimulated without starting where the cave man did. The resources of the twentieth century should be made available to the child as fast as he can make use of them, and the methods of the educational process should skilfully prepare him for the exceedingly complex adjustments ahead. His motivation must be equal to the double task of functioning worthily as an individual and as a co-operative member of the social order. He needs a strong, flexible personality and a character controlled by refined social values.

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CHAPTER II

THE PART HEREDITY PLAYS

In this chapter the special influence of heredity in the complex evolvement of the child's personality is considered in the light of significant findings in the varied fields of biological research. This is in one sense the most important phase of the study of personality, for it deals with the beginnings of life where the limits of development are at least in part determined. It helps us to understand the uniqueness of each individual and the wide differences—with similarities—between persons of the same racial stock and like environment. Human nature is ^{akin} akin to all nature, bound by the same kind of laws found in all living organisms, and yet freer than any other form to adapt itself to changing conditions. A study of the principles and mechanisms of heredity gives us a key both to the stability and to the adaptability of human nature and also to the wide differences in the native equipment of different individuals. Heredity, however, can never be studied alone, for it always must act in a given environment, and that given environment conditions its operation in every phase of its action.

It has been stated already that personality is the product of three interacting forces—heredity, environment, and the growing self. The relation of these three forces to one another is suggested by Figure 2.¹

¹ The author is indebted to Professor Sewall Wright, University of Chicago, for suggestions and rough sketch of drawings for pp. 24 and 25.

Heredity is sometimes looked at from only one angle—the physical—but it may just as fairly be considered as of two kinds—the physical and the responsive (intellectual and emotional responses). Likewise, the environmental factors may be thought of as of two general types—the physical (internal and external) and the social (individual and group relations). These two forces, operating together, produce the developing organism and the developing self (the self-conscious, more or less purposive

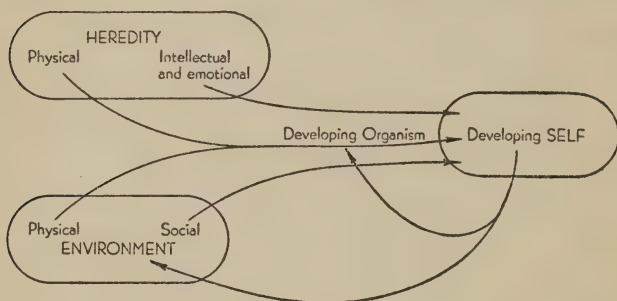


FIG. 2

reaction system). The self in its functioning reacts upon the organism and the environment (and consequently upon the operation of heredity in the developing organism) by emotional responses, conscious choices, and other forms of response which are different, at least in degree, from those of any other creature. The diagram is not a complete picture of the forces which work together to produce personality, but it may serve to indicate some of the ways in which heredity controls development and may help the reader to interpret the rest of the discussion of heredity.

At any given moment in the developmental process

the growth of any particular part of the organism may be suggested by Figure 3.² The genes act directly in the various cells and indirectly through their operation upon the endocrine glands, nervous system, and other organs. The external and internal environments also act in various ways by nutrition, stimulation, etc. The process in the total organism, represented by the line of history, supports, interrelates part to part, and integrates each developing part into the developing whole.

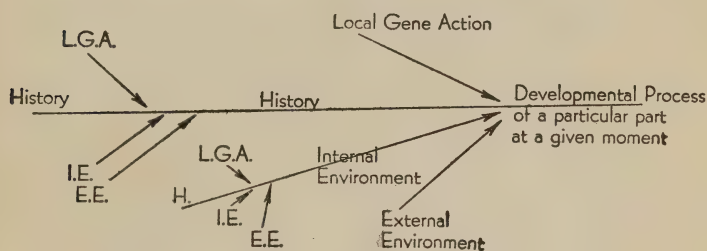


FIG. 3

The progress which has been made in recent years in discovering the specific influences of genes, and of the other factors in the developing process, is of large interest to educators. Many battles meaningless today have been waged between advocates of heredity and environment. Many explanations of conduct have been based upon wrong implications from genetic studies, and vain hopes have been raised by enthusiastic evolutionists and eugenisists. Today it seems safe to say that biologists have a much more accurate picture of the way in which heredity works

² Cf., for fuller development of this diagram and explanation of interrelations, Sewall Wright, "Physiological and Evolutionary Theories of Dominance," *American Naturalist*, LXVIII (January-February, 1934), 24-53.

and understand the reasons for variations in development. With the improvements in high-powered microscopes, and with increasing knowledge and skills in experimentation with plants and animals, they have been able to penetrate far into the secrets of nature. While the human organism is more complex than any other, it is closely related in form and structure to the higher animals and seems to follow in large part the same laws of development. Every human individual begins life with the union of two germ cells, and his development is the story of cell division and multiplication, growth of specialized parts, and slowly maturing adjustment of the whole organism in its interrelated parts and to its environment.

The general principles of genetics, with detailed descriptive accounts of fertilization of germ cells, of cell division and multiplication, of the determiners of different characteristics, and other phases of the hereditary process may be found in biological texts. An ever increasing number of specialized books and articles deal with observations and experimentations in this field. There will be no attempt in this treatise to reproduce any of these basic studies or developed theories. A student of personality growth will find it profitable to become well acquainted with common biological concepts and with advances in genetics. He should be able to think clearly in relation to such terms as chromosomes, genes, hormones, mutations, Mendelian laws, linkages, and cross-ings-over. He should be alert to facts drawn from biology but should recognize that such data must be used with facts from other sources. The interplay of forces in life is much more than the operation of any particular force.

In so far as synthetic studies must gather and inter-

pret findings from varied fields, the conclusions must be tentative. Real advance will come when biologists, psychologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, educationalists, and religionists are willing to think together upon the common problems of personality. Many unwarranted conclusions may creep into educational treatises because writers are unable to be specialists in several fields, and yet it seems better to risk misunderstanding some phase of another's special field rather than to attempt personality diagnosis from any one isolated point of view. In using biological writings and in seeking to relate present theories to this study of personality, the writer may go beyond what a biologist would say of human factors, but he has tried to be cautious and conservative in making transfers and generalizations. Authorities do not always agree in either findings or conclusions, but trends of thought may be apparent and sufficiently accurate to stimulate persons in other fields to explore personality factors from other angles. One man may be able to help another to get meaning and insight even when his own vision is cloudy and uncertain.

Each human individual, like every other individual among the higher animals, starts life as a microscopic egg cell, less than one-hundredth of an inch in diameter. This cell which is ready, under proper environmental conditions, to grow into a complex organism of more than twenty-six trillion cells³ is the result of the union of two germ cells whose constituents may contain elements from two lines of ancestors, reaching back to unknown distances in the past, now brought together by the mating

³ C. B. Davenport, "Child Development from the Standpoint of Genetics," *Scientific Monthly*, XXXIX (1934), 97-116.

of the two parents. The mystery underlying the conception of a human life and the manner of its development is deep and thrilling with every revelation of the secrets in its long story. The fertilized egg cell (like all cells) has two parts—the nucleus and the cytoplasm. The cytoplasm provides the first building materials, while the genes of the nucleus act as the architects and supervisors and accelerators of the building process. The nucleus contains twenty-four pairs of chromosomes, each of microscopic size, and each chromosome has in it a series of beadlike parts called “chromomeres.” These chromomeres are assumed by many biologists to be very closely related to the units of heredity called “genes.” The genes are identified hypothetically in breeding experiments, and their locations mapped in definite order in the chromosomes, but no microscope has yet been able to catch a gene at work. The chromomeres of some organisms have been photographed, and the character of the genetic forces is fairly well known. Dr. John Belling, of the Carnegie Institute of Washington, counted 2,200 pairs of these chromomeres in the cells of one species of lily.⁴ The cells of human individuals have probably the same kind of intricate differentiation, but, because of their infinitesimal size and complex system of working together, it may be a long time before biologists may be able to identify or map human genes. However, it is quite certain that the minute egg cell which forms from the union of a sperm and ovum in conception, with its marvelously complex parts and delicately adjusted chemical balance, is the sole connection of the individual with his ancestors.

⁴ F. F. Bunker, “Genes—the Units of Heredity,” *Scientific Monthly*, XXXIV (1932), 556-65.

This cell carries all that may be ascribed to heredity, and whatever bonds heredity may hold on the growing child are hidden in the latent forces of that microscopic organism. We need to remember also that had it not been for the close relation of all organisms—plant and animal (human included)—the secrets of developing life might never have been discovered. The unity of nature, in spite of its diversities, is one of the most helpful clues to the study of its mysteries. The biologist studies plants and animals and experiments with them freely, and the educationalist moves more wisely in diagnosing human conduct because of what the biologist finds in comparative areas of life.

By a singular process of cell division and multiplication the individual grows, but the patterns in the original cell are never lost. It is believed that genes are present in every body cell and that, by a combination of genetic forces, specialized parts are built and made to function according to related and environmental needs. The womb of the mother gives the growing organism protection and nourishment for the first nine months. In this intimate relation to the mother, who acts as a selective agent in gathering and preparing materials for the new individual, the original cell (fertilized egg) grows, divides, organizes, and gradually develops into the extraordinarily complex human babe. On emergence into the outer world at birth the organism continues its development, and the first two years are, biologically speaking, probably the most important ones that we live.⁵ In that early period the brain rapidly develops, giving the child necessary con-

⁵ H. D. Chapin, *Heredity and Child Culture* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1928).

nective tissue for recording and relating experience, so that the processes of thinking, use of language, and finer types of personality adjustment are especially furthered. A larger wisdom than that of a single individual, or of a pair of individuals, determines the qualities of the newborn and his life-tendencies. He is the product of the race, and racial strains control the lines of his development. In the normal course of events nothing which his mother does or thinks can in any direct fashion change the forces which shape the individual during the prenatal period, once the two germ cells of the parents have united to form the fertilized egg cell. In the process of prenatal growth nature protects the growing child from any fanciful ideas which a mother might have of the kind of child she would like to have as her offspring. The characteristics of a child physically, mentally, and as a personality are definitely limited and organized even before the first division of cellular growth has taken place. The determiners of range in possibilities, of combination of qualities, of hereditary assets and liabilities, have acted, and the individual is on his way for better or for worse, as his environment may give latent forces opportunity to play. Lack of nourishment, physical injury, or toxic poisons may deform or kill the developing life, but even against these hazards nature has given him wonderful protection.

The story of the development of the egg cell is fascinating. When the male sperm is brought into contact with the female ovum by the act of copulation, there is an extraordinary reaction within the two germ cells before they unite to form the egg. One-half of the hereditary genes in both the sperm and ovum are cast out, forming polar bodies which do not develop any further. In what

appears to be a chance arrangement, one-half of the genes of the sperm, which carries the hereditary tendencies of the father from his ancestors, join with one-half of the genes of the ovum, which carries the hereditary tendencies of the mother from her ancestors, to form a new organization which will determine the structure of a new and unique individual. Even now in the new egg cell there is what may be called double heredity, for the male sperm contributes enough chromosomes to construct a complete organism, and the ovum has like provision. The two sets of chromosomes, with their two sets of genes, are nature's way of insuring the transmission of good racial characteristics. The paired genes supplement each other so that, if one happens to be defective, the chances are that the other will be normal. If there should be two defective genes of the same kind, the progeny would suffer in the characteristics affected by those genes; but, when there is one recessive and one dominant of the same type, the dominant controls the process of growth.⁶

A diagram will illustrate how the child is related to his parents and ancestors and the chances for intermingling

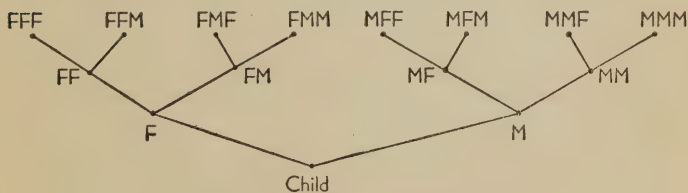


FIG. 4

of two strains. The line of descent is traced back only three generations, but influences may reach much farther

⁶ Cf. H. S. Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature* (New York: Norton & Co., 1930).

back. When the sperm of the paternal great-grandfather (*FFF*) united with the ovum of the paternal great-grandmother (*FFM*), there was a half-sample of each heredity carried forward to the paternal grandfather (*FF*). Likewise in the case of the other three pairs of great-grandparents. Again the paternal grandfather and paternal grandmother gave half-samples of their combined inherited strains to the father of the new child, and likewise did the maternal grandparents. The father and mother of the child now add one more chance combination of one half-sample of heredity from each of two lines already much intertwined with previous generations. Each time there was a union of sperm and ovum, there was a 50-50 chance of good genes, strong and of desirable characteristics, being carried forward. But there was always a like 50-50 chance that some weak genes would be transmitted to the new offspring. A recessive gene, tending to cause defective characteristics, may remain inactive for several generations because of counteracting dominants, but there is always a chance that some combination of paired genes will yield a defective characteristic. It will be quite evident that the likelihood of a child's resembling either of his parents in many inherited traits is very slight. The child belongs to the race rather than to the parents, and a characteristic of any ancestor may be asserted at any time—though the chances of its recognition as belonging to a particular person may be small because of its new setting in a differently organized personality. While a child is sometimes described as a "chip off the old block" because of some outstanding behavior pattern, or some physical or mental characteristic, he will certainly not be a duplicate of that parent, and it is probable that the

similarity is as much the result of environmental conditionings as of hereditary structure or tendency. This genetic fact of essential difference between parents and children should put parents on guard lest they expect certain hereditary capacities and fail to recognize and respect the differences in, and possibilities of, each individual.

It has been shown that even where nature protects a new individual from some unfortunate or undesirable characteristic by the assertion of a dominant gene, or fortunate combination of genes, a recessive may be still carried forward in the reproductive cells. The body cells in which the dominant genes are asserting their strength are different from the reproductive cells. When he mates, there is a one-in-four chance that a recessive gene, inactive in him, may become active in his offspring, if perchance he does have such a recessive. Generations are linked together, and no one has any right to boast his inherited superiority. Whatever he is—dull or bright, mediocre or talented—he is a racial product, a chance combination of genes, and neither he nor his parents had anything to do with selecting his dominant traits. The only thing his parents could have done was to have examined their ancestral lines and to have married with a view to combining favorable chances. The stronger the history, and the more free each ancestral line is from physical, mental, or personality defects, the better the chance for the new offspring. The advantages of selective breeding of plants and animals has long been proved, and it is reasonable to suppose that the human race could be improved, and the number of defectives reduced, if more intelligent thought were given to mating. Family


pride is more frequently the result of selective attention to ancestral achievements than a justifiable satisfaction in the wise selective matings of one's forebears.

Nature loves individuals, and, though members of the same family have much more chance of being alike than strangers, each child has a distinct individuality. Even identical twins, who start closely alike, will be subjected to different environmental influences and will each develop a distinct personality. In the educational process it is important to provide for these innate differences and not to expect all to fit into the same mold. Latent differences in talents should be studied instead of being suppressed. Many children are completely blocked from a normal development by unreasonable expectancies. Some strain to achieve what is impossible for them and fail to find satisfaction in the realization of their natural capacities. A democracy's greatest asset is in the varied character of its human resources.

Certain fallacious assumptions regarding heredity need to be corrected, for they have definitely affected educational theories and methods. One is seen in the assumption that children of parents who have gained superior social status are likely to be gifted in some way or other and that little may be expected from those who have low or mediocre social standing. A superficial review of history would seem to indicate that the majority of outstanding persons have come from ordinary parental stock—at least ordinary in so far as social and economic status is commonly measured. And it is a common observation that children of the most privileged families, and of the most promising parentage, may be disappointing in their traits and achievements. Every child should

be tested to discover latent capacities and should be given opportunities to find himself and to prove his worth. No one should be forced to strain for artificial standards, nor should one be damned for failure to measure up to a snobbish expectancy.

Another fallacy which persists in many quarters is that feeble-mindedness in offspring may be easily controlled by sterilization of those who manifest signs of mental weakness. Jennings says that the best estimates would suggest that there are thirty times as many individuals carrying defective genes which might cause feeble-mindedness as those who are feeble-minded.⁷ That is, for every individual bearing a pair, or more, of defective genes which result in feeble-mindedness, there are about thirty normal individuals bearing a recessive, or combination of recessives, which would be revealed if it were not for dominants in this area. An unfortunate combination of genes of two mentally superior parents may give rise to a feeble-minded child, or even an idiot. It is not usually the fault of these parents, and ordinarily no social stigma should rest upon them. Weaknesses are in ancestral lines; and, when records are carefully kept, families show strange combinations of geniuses, mediocrities, and defectives when traced back a few generations. When a mentally deficient or deformed child is born, society should share the care, and it is to the credit of our civilization that we are making continual progress in providing institutions and methods of treatment to aid defectives. Even when some direct responsibility may be placed upon one, or both, of the parents because of alcoholism, syphilis, or other unnatural cause, society must assume the



⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

Feeble-minded
" { major burden and so should seek to prevent like cases. Jennings says that only about 11 per cent of the feeble-minded are children of feeble-minded parents. The facts are not available as to the incidence in previous generations, but the law of averages in feeble-mindedness is such that few young people worry about the chances in their children. When misfortune comes, parents need to be objectively minded so that emotional upsets may be prevented.

One other fallacy may be mentioned—the belief that crossing of races means deterioration of the species. Researches in biology have shown that certain gains may be secured by inbreeding within close lines of selected stock, while other gains may be attained by cross-breeding of unrelated strains of similar species. With plants and animals it is comparatively easy to experiment and to find the general laws of change in any predetermined characteristics. But with humans the problems are many times more complex. It might be possible to gain some physical advantage by crossing races, especially so in the case of particular individuals, but social and cultural difficulties might discount the total personality gains. And, even if individual advantages might be secured by crossings, any wholesale change might badly upset cultural factors. Evolution seems to depend upon organization and isolation of types which become adjusted to climatic, geographical, and cultural situations.⁸ Significant changes on any large scale are only evident after a

⁸ Cf. Wright, "Evolution in Mendelian Populations," *Genetics*, XVI (1931), 97-156; "The Roles of Mutation, Inbreeding, Crossbreeding, and Selection in Evolution," *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of Genetics* (1932); T. H. Morgan, *The Scientific Basis of Evolution* (New York: Norton & Co., 1935).

long succession of generations. Nature has been carrying on experiments through the whole of human history, and it is improbable that there are any pure racial strains in the human species. Claims of Nordic superiority, or of any other racial or class superiority, are indications of ignorant pride rather than of scientific investigation. In individual cases there may be far better matings between persons of different race, nationality, or class than within their respective groups, and society should respect evident signs of intelligent and selective mating, even when such mating is opposed to some conventional customs. It is the blind, lustful matings of persons of the same, or of different, stock who are unfit to beget children because of physical condition, mental deficiency, personal habits, economic state, or other cause that society should guard against.

With due acknowledgment of the forces transmitted by heredity and controlled by the genetic system, recognition must also be given to the conditioning environmental forces which interact with hereditary forces at all times and which influence every phase and stage of growth. At one time there was interest in discussion of the question, "Which is more potent, heredity or environment, nature or nurture?" Modern studies in biology have shown that a certain percentage of characteristics are due to heredity and a certain percentage to environmental factors, but the two are inseparable. In experimental work it has been found that some differences in breeding plants and animals may be accounted for by gene differences, and in other cases the same differences appear to be due to changes in environmental conditions. Jennings goes so far as to say that "from the nature of a

given characteristic it is not possible to decide whether it is due to diversity of genes or to diversity of environment, since the same peculiarity may be due in different cases to either set of causes."⁹

Although it is not probable that gene mutations take place through nutritional causes, except in long cumulative conditions, it is a regular procedure in medical treatment to control physical, mental, and personality factors by diet, drugs, and synthetic products. Almost every handicap may be modified by the intelligent use of therapeutics and enviroing conditions. Physical deformities such as harelip, crossed eyes, clubfeet, and organ and joint displacements are corrected daily in modern hospitals; and the functioning of heart, stomach, nervous system, and glands is in given cases modified to as large a degree as conditions demand. Knowledge and skill are still far short of controlling the varied functional and pathological disturbances in the human body, but progress is being made in the understanding of the laws of human growth and personality development, and science and education are working together to improve the product of heredity and environment.

One of the most fruitful lines of investigation in studying the relative influences of heredity and environment has been the study of identical twins, and comparison of their developing characteristics under different environmental conditions with those of fraternal twins and siblings. Identical twins are two individuals born by the division of one egg cell and are controlled in development by equal division of the same genetic material. Fraternal twins are born of two different egg cells, each of which

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

is the result of a distinct sperm and ovum. They may be as unlike as any two children of the same family and may be of the same or of different sex. Identical twins are always of the same sex and are so alike in features and general physical structure as to be almost indistinguishable. They have very close similarities in dispositions, mannerisms, susceptibility to disease, and many other characteristics. Newman says of them, "As the two sides of the body are about 90% alike so are identical twins."¹⁰ Differences in nutrition during the prenatal period, or in environment as they mature, may cause variations in their reactions, but remarkable similarities persist in spite of environmental conditionings. As changes take place in all persons as they grow and mature, the differences between the development of identical twins and other persons should give a clue to the factors which may be ascribed to heredity and those which are due to environment. It is extremely difficult to equalize other factors when attention is being directed to a given characteristic, and it is hard to measure qualities in exact degrees of difference. Though the results of investigations vary considerably, there is enough agreement to suggest the kind of results which may be expected as these types of study are improved and multiplied.

The *Twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (1928) was devoted to a discussion of studies on "Nature and Nurture." G. G. Tallman reported on 72 families of 199 children and 158 pairs of twins tested on the Stanford-Binet scale. She called identical twins those whom she found impossible

¹⁰ H. H. Newman, "Identical Twins," *Scientific Monthly*, XXXIV (1932), 169-71.

to tell apart. The average difference in I.Q. in the case of the siblings was 13.14, and in the case of twins 7.07. In differentiating between identical and fraternal twins, she found the average difference for identicals to be 5.08 (63 pairs), and for fraternal 7.37 (39 pairs).¹¹

Two years later H. H. Newman reported differences between 50 pairs of identical twins and 50 pairs of fraternal twins—in both cases the children were reared together. He found on two tests a difference in intelligence almost twice as great in the case of the fraternal as between the identical twins:

Stanford-Binet test—Av. diff.: identicals 8.4 mos.; fraternal, 15.9 mos.

Otis-Self-administering test—Av. diff. in I.Q.: 4.5, identicals; 9.2, fraternal

In three cases of identical twins reared apart he found the differences increased nearly twice as much as the average of the group who had been reared together, but the number of cases is too small to warrant any generalization.¹² A little later, however, he reported on 10 cases of identical twins reared apart, concluding that, with respect to such modifiable characters as I.Q., body weight, and some personality traits, siblings owe their differences to genetic differences to about twice as great an extent as to environmental differences.¹³

¹¹ *Twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, "Nature vs. Nurture" (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Co., 1928), pp. 85 and 86. Quoted by permission of the Society.

¹² "Identical Twins Reared Apart," *Eugenics Review*, XXII (1930), 29-35.

¹³ "The Effects of Hereditary and Environmental Differences upon Human Personality as Revealed in Studies of Twins," *American Naturalist*, LXVII (1933), 193-205.

Hogben, of the University of London, gives three other comparative correlations:

		Identical	Fraternal
Holzinger (1929)	{ Binet test88 (50 pairs)	.63 (52 pairs)
	{ Otis test92 (50 pairs)	.62 (50 pairs)

Herrman and

Hogben (1933)	Otis test86 (65 pairs)	.49 (96 pairs)
Stocks (1933)	Terman test . .	.84 (78 pairs)	.87 (66 pairs)

The fraternal in these three were of like sex, and the exception of Stock's study is noted, but no explanation made for the difference.¹⁴

Popenoe reviews four studies of criminals, showing the greater tendency of identical twins to be alike in criminal records than fraternal twins of the same sex. The number of concordant and discordant cases are shown in

TABLE 1
STUDY OF TWINS AND CRIMINALS—PAUL POPENOE

RESEARCH OF	66 IDENTICALS		84 FRATERNALS	
	Concordant	Discordant	Concordant	Discordant
Lange	10	3	3	15
Legros	4	0	0	5
Stumpf	11	7	7	12
Kronz	20	11	23	20

Table 1. That is, in the case of identical twins 68 per cent are concordant in having similar criminal records, while only 38 per cent of fraternal twins of same sex are so found. In the case of the opposite sex in twins the record was much less—Kronz found in 50 cases 88 per cent discordant. Popenoe concludes that heredity has an impor-

¹⁴ L. Hogben, *Nature and Nurture* (New York: Norton & Co., 1933), p. 94.

tant influence in crime but that other factors are definitely involved.¹⁵

Newman gives a number of case studies to show how environment may change any trait and even such commonly assumed hereditary characteristics as intelligence and temperament. Four of his cases are briefly described:

Case 1.—Two young women, separated for twenty years, found to be practically identical physically and in intelligence but extremely different in temperament and other personality traits

Case 2.—Two young women, one reared in England and the other in Canada, found to be similar in temperament and personality traits, but the Colonial was in much better physical condition and much more intelligent

Case 3.—Two young women, separated for twenty years, reared in about the same kind of social and physical environment, but one given more educational privileges than the other, found to be extraordinarily alike in physical and temperamental qualities, but the more educated was strikingly more intelligent

Case 4.—Two young women, separated for twenty-eight years, one reared on a farm, the other in a town and much indoors, found to be different in all three respects—physical, mental, and temperamental.¹⁶

As to the balance of nature and nurture Hogben concludes that there are no limits to the changes that may be brought about by regulating the environment,¹⁷ but Holzinger suggests about a 50-50 relationship.¹⁸ From a study of foster-children Burks believes heredity controls

¹⁵ P. Popenoe, "Twins and Criminals," *Journal of Heredity*, XXVII (1936), 388-90.

¹⁶ "Identical Twins," p. 170.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁸ K. Holzinger, "The Relative Effect of Nature and Nurture Influences on Twin Differences," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XX (1929), 241-48.

to about 75 or 80 per cent. She says that it appears as if home environment may affect I.Q. as much as 20 points in either direction. She feels that .58 probably represents the degree of resemblance between children and their parents due to hereditary factors.¹⁹ On the other hand, Shuttleworth concludes from his studies of twins that the resemblance of children to their parents is due more to environment than to heredity and that superior parents give a higher order of stimulation to their children, on the average, and allow the native capacities a better chance for full growth. He believes that the increasing improvement in educational methods will result in more striking modifications of hereditary tendencies.²⁰

The encouraging conclusion from such investigations is that we find human nature very plastic and modifiable. Humanity will advance as it discovers and uses the laws of growth. A nation cannot afford to allow children to be born who cannot be given a favorable combination of inherited and environmental factors. Society does not need more specimens of the human kind but better children with greater opportunities to achieve personal and social gains than the past generations enjoyed. The Children's Charter, written by the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, emphasizes these rights in a remarkable series of statements. We recall a few in this connection:

- II. For every child understanding and the guarding of his personality as his most precious right

¹⁹ B. Burks, "The Relative Influence of Nature and Nurture upon Mental Development," *Twenty-seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education* (1928), p. 308. Quoted by permission of the Society.

²⁰ F. K. Shuttleworth, "The Nature vs. Nurture Problem," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXVI (1935), 655-81.

- III. For every child a home and that love and security which a home provides; and for that child who must receive foster care, the nearest substitute for his own home
- VII. For every child a dwelling place safe, sanitary, and wholesome, with reasonable provisions for privacy, free from conditions which tend to thwart his development; and a home environment harmonious and enriching
- IX. For every child a community which recognizes and plans for his needs, protects him from physical dangers, moral hazards, and disease; provides him with safe and wholesome places for play and recreation; and makes provision for his cultural and social needs
- X. For every child an education which, through the discovery and development of his individual abilities, prepares him for life; and through training and vocational guidance prepares him for a living which will yield him the maximum of satisfaction²¹

The scientist may tell us that "the evolution of complex organisms rests on the attainment of gene combinations which determine a varied repertoire of adaptive cell responses in relation to external conditions,"²² and may warn us that significant changes in the human race as a whole must be slow; but the educationalist works in the faith that, as more and more individuals are produced with favorable heritage and environment, society will progress. A twentieth-century child in a good twentieth-century environment will have a better chance to attain a larger personality than either a cave man's child or a twentieth-century child in a cave man's environment. As environment is enriched and made more stimulating for personality growth, the adaptive capacities of the genetic system in the human organism will be modified. The

²¹ Cf. J. E. Rogers, *The Child and Play* (New York: Century Co., 1932).

²² Wright, *Genetics*, XVI, 147.

educationalist must recognize the limitations of organic evolution and give himself to a more complete study of the resources at his command. Science gives some guidance relative to selective mating, some suggestions as to the influences of diet, some indication of possible glandular modification, and increasing evidence of the effects of home, school, and community differences in environment. The limitations set by heredity for an individual and for the race are real boundaries, but within those boundaries there are limitless opportunities for personality development.

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CHAPTER III

THE ORGANIC BASIS

Biology is a study of living organisms, their structure and functionings, their likenesses and differences, their laws of growth, and the conditions which affect their development and functioning. Because human beings have so much in common with other organisms, their basic behavior forms are describable in biological terms. In attempting to understand personality in growing humans, it is as important to consider the mechanistic reactions of the living machine as to deal with the verbalisms of self-conscious, rationalizing "minds." One does not observe children's behavior long before one recognizes that they act primarily because of organic conditions, and only secondarily on account of psychic purposings. Most of their daily adjustments are taken care of by the "wisdom of the body," by automatic movements or habituated unconscious reactions, and most of their satisfying activities are physical. Even when they are mature, giving evidence of ability to think, to set goals, to plan, and to act critically, biological data are essential to an interpretation of their conduct.

To study personality from the mechanistic point of view is in no sense to discount the human, spiritual, or personality elements, but it is a realistic way of studying the higher forms of behavior. In his book *The Thinking Machine* Dr. Herrick, an outstanding physiologist and specialist in brain research, says, "The idea of mechanism properly understood and rigorously applied gives a prac-

tical approach to the study of human nature which takes full account of the immeasurable difference between men and animals and is, in fact, the only possible approach to these problems from the scientific side.”¹ He recognizes that this approach has been associated with a crude materialistic philosophy, and he takes scientists to task for it. “Scientific investigators,” he says, “have sometimes been in rather too big a hurry to make far-reaching philosophical generalizations from their pitifully fragmentary observations and to sponsor a half-baked materialistic philosophy which is not only metaphysically inadequate, but is so manifestly one sided and out of touch with a vast amount of genuine human experience that common sense incontinently rejects it.” He adds, however, that while the “humanistic” aspects of experience are generally recognized their relations to the vital mechanisms are almost everywhere misunderstood.

A mechanistic approach to the study of child nature might be compared to an investigation of the possibilities of a pipe organ. The organ may be interesting as a wonderful piece of machinery and, as ordinarily constructed, has definite aesthetic qualities, but its primary value and *raison d'être* is its musical productivity. To appreciate its possibilities, one should know something of its mechanical construction and operation, listen to the sounds of single pipes and combinations under different controls, feel its musical effect under varying conditions, and watch its response to different organists. Each organist will have different sensitivities, training, social patterns, motivations, and experiences which will affect his playing.

¹ C. J. Herrick, *The Thinking Machine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. 5.

One will never know the latent possibilities of the instrument until one has studied it from all these angles. A study of mechanics must be kept close to an examination of conditioned functionings. So in child study one must know the mechanics of the organism, the characteristics of the self as it operates under different conditions, and the possibilities revealed by the stimulation of various persons. The instrument will be modified by changing factors, and the child is susceptible to many influences which affect the workings of his organs.

Readers are assumed to have a general acquaintance with biology, human anatomy, and physiology. There are many good writings in this field, popular as well as technical, and research is adding continually to our knowledge of the human organism. It is unnecessary to attempt any recasting of a biological text, but it is advisable to recall a few facts to illustrate the psychophysical correlates significant to an understanding of children's developing personalities. There is a temptation to go into details, and many psychologies give several chapters to anatomical forms and physiological functionings. But in this brief comprehensive treatment it is better to refer readers to more adequate discussions if they need such reference. In any study of a particular individual it might be quite essential to go into a careful diagnosis of organic conditions. For instance, in a given problem situation it might be wise to study glandular functionings, or in another case to investigate digestive conditions, or eye troubles, or diseased tonsils, or perhaps some pressure on the brain resulting from an accident, or from a birth injury. It is important to know how to get facts and diagnostic assistance when such is needed, but the diffi-

culty is that many parents and educators do not recognize symptoms of organic disturbance and do not know when expert knowledge is vital. Often a very small adjustment will correct a fault if it is made at the right time. But, as in driving an automobile, if one knows very little concerning the mechanics of one's car, one cannot make the adjustment one's self, and one may not know when one should have it attended to by a good mechanic. The amateur in any field must depend upon professionals, but he needs a certain body of knowledge before he can understand and co-operate with the specialist. The specialist must be willing to help bridge the gap between his technical terminology and the layman's limited concrete imagery. Parents and educators are often misled by pseudo-scientific statements because of the failure of scientists to do their part in bridging this gap.

The first picture to get clearly in one's mind is the general organization of the parts of the body. It would be fine if one could have accessible for careful study one of those transparent figures showing the different systems of the human body in life-size and arrangement. For convenience it is well to think of the organs and parts of the body as set in a number of interrelated systems, though because of multiple functions some organs have to be classed in two or more systems. Supporting the whole, keeping the parts in advantageous relation to one another, and protecting the vital organs, is the bony framework or skeleton. It enables the individual to stand erect, to make flexible adjustments in large or small co-ordinated activities, and with the muscles serves to provide a wonderful operative mechanism. The muscular system is composed of two kinds of tissue—the smooth muscles

found chiefly in the visceral organs and the striped muscles connecting parts and providing for movements of parts. While one set of muscles is in contraction, doing some work, another set operating the same or related parts is in relaxation, or inhibition. A digestive system appropriates food, transforms it into chemical compounds suited to body-building and production of energy. It is sensitive to the qualities of food and informs the individual as to the kinds and amounts desirable for best functioning. A respiratory system takes oxygen from the atmosphere, feeds it to the circulatory system, which, in turn, carries it to all parts of the body to aid in the oxidation process that is at the basis of all organic activity. It too is sensitive to the qualities of its materials, warning the individual of undesirable gases and eliminating the waste by-products of oxidation. The circulatory system gathers the chemicals and other manufactured foods, makes them ready for tissue-building, distributes them to all parts of the body, screens out harmful bacteria and other foreign bodies, and keeps the whole body flexible and nourished. A glandular system produces a series of chemical compounds, which are distributed by the circulatory system, which control the rate of growth in the different parts, and give tonicity to all tissues. Some of these secretions act as excitants and some as depressants, so that, while one activity is in progress, another may be held in check. A marvelous arrangement of balances in energizings and inhibitions, and in anabolic and katabolic phases of the life-process, keep the body in an active, healthy state, ready for its daily tasks and frequent emergencies. The nervous system correlates incoming stimuli from the sense organs with the necessary responses

within the organism and in relation to the outer world. It registers experiences and their emotional tones and conditions adjustments which are taking place by the results of past learnings. It tends to integrate the various experiences of the body and to give them meaning by interrelationship. The genitourinary system has a strange combination of duties providing for the reproduction of the species and taking care of the waste liquids of the organism.

This brief description will suffice to suggest the complex nature of the human body, its interdependent parts, and its extremely varied functions. Because of the closely interwoven parts and functions, any disturbance in one part is quickly and sympathetically felt in every other. A sliver in the finger, a piece of skin off a toe, a speck of dust in the eye, or a slight inflammation in the appendix, and the whole equilibrium of a child may be upset, and healthy, normal functioning interrupted. Symptoms are often misleading, for primary causes may be hidden while attention is directed toward relief of the part which gives the warning. So also when a behavior problem arises it is difficult to trace it back to the seat of the trouble and deal with it because contributory factors must also be controlled. Yet the organism is a unit, and in both educative and remedial work this fundamental fact must be recognized.

Like all machines, the human body works according to definite principles, or rules of procedure. One does not need to speculate about a child's behavior, for one can investigate and find out why he behaves as he does. If a baby does not behave as he might be expected to do according to the average, one will do no good by worrying

over it. A pediatrician will study his conduct, perhaps experiment with his diet, test his reactions to different foods or drugs, and tell whether it is a digestive trouble, a glandular defect, or something else, and start treatment at once to correct the fault. If a child is fretful, sleepless, or exceptionally irritable, there is usually some physical cause which the doctor will look for and seek to change. If a child does not get along in school as well as the average, there is a reason for it, and a scientific analysis of the capacities of the child and of his health and general behavior will likely reveal his abilities, his difficulties, and what may be reasonably expected of him. It may be that the child is straining beyond his intellectual ability, or that there is a sight or hearing deficiency, or that he has had some maladjustment with a teacher or pupil and is not emotionally able to concentrate and do his best. There are always many possible causes, but a careful diagnosis will reveal the critical factors which cause the deviation from an expected rule. Scientific observations and experiments have given data from which a considerable number of norms have been built, like the height and weight tables, abilities at different ages, school achievements, physical measures, and diet tables.² Physical development and maturing stages of capacity are not the results of mere chance but follow predictable lines of growth, varying within rather limited degrees of difference from describable averages for sex, age, and general background. Parents and educators may use these norms

² Cf. B. T. Baldwin, *The Physical Growth of Children from Birth to Maturity* ("University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare" [1921]); F. L. Goodenough, *Developmental Psychology* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1934).

as guides but cannot depend upon them for individual measures, for each child has a rate of growth that is normal for him in the light of heredity and environmental conditions.

Two parts of the organic equipment deserve special attention on account of their relation to the control and integration of children's reactions. They are the nervous system and the endocrine glands, both of which have regulatory powers, preparing for and guiding the effective interrelationship of the various parts of the body. Every organ has its own reserve of energy built up in its own tissue, but for automatic activation, direction, and co-ordination all depend upon either a nerve impulse or a chemical secretion. Without this provision of nature for co-ordination and integration we might have the complicated machinery of the human body ceaselessly involved in conflicts of its parts. As it is, most of the inner adjustments are made automatically, without conscious attention or rational direction. Most innate and habitual reactions are taken care of by organized series of acts which follow behavior patterns without thought-processes. We see these sets in a child at an early age, and they become more complex as he grows. Thus we have habits of eating, dressing, adjustments to different persons, ways of playing, and emotional outbursts with patterns so definitely formed and peculiar to each child that we can anticipate his behavior in almost any situation. Modifications of such conduct are achieved with patient guidance and stimulation of interests which call forth new purposes and creative desires. It is not enough to convince the intellect of the child, or to develop an emotional reaction. A child may know what is good

etiquette without putting forth any effort to change undesirable habits; he may co-operate almost automatically with one person, while the sight of another may start a series of antipathetic behaviors. The organism becomes set in certain ways, not the mind, or some mystical "will." These sets are in sensory-muscular-glandular connections, in nerve-tissue connections, and chemical excitants or depressants.

The nervous system is composed of the brain, spinal cord, and groups of paired nerve fibers, working through synaptic switchboards, and connecting with sense organs, muscles, glands, and vital organs. When stimuli arrive from the sense organs giving information of the outer world, or of the state of the organism, they are relayed through the spinal cord, or brain, and redirected into organic or muscular activity. The various sense organs give the body a differentiated sensitivity, permitting analytic meanings to arise as the organism responds to the exigencies of its environment, or as it explores into the possibilities of its world. The unit of the nervous system is the neurone, a fine elongated piece of tissue, so small that a hundred thousand may be bound together in one threadlike nerve fiber. Yet this neurone is the transmitter of impulses which may set in action an organ, or the whole body. The character of tissue in the spinal cord and brain is about the same, but the brain is the central co-ordinating mechanism, and the cerebral cortex is the most dominant part.

The mystery of the brain's co-ordinating and problem-solving power is little understood. Though the quantity of brain tissue does not increase much after birth, its development is largely in the connections made between

the various neurones. It is estimated that there are over 9,200 million³ nerve cells in the cerebral cortex, and, when these become related to the various neurones extending throughout the body, the total number of possible connections is beyond ordinary estimates. When a child is born, there are already many connections made so that orderly responses are controlled; but why, as experience multiplies, the brain increases its relations and controls and becomes conscious of the operations and a conscious self joins the processes of adjustment is only vaguely and partially understood. Yet brain and mind seem to develop together, and consciousness is apparently a function of the protoplasmic nervous system. Dr. Herrick says:

The evidence so far available seems to indicate that as soon as the cortical mechanism begins to function the spiritual life is born. It is created anew in every growing babe. . . . There is mystery here, plenty of it, for nobody understands how an awareness can be made out of something which was not aware of anything. Yet this seems to be what has actually happened.

He goes on to point out that this "spiritual life" which is born in a mysterious way may be called divine if one so desires to dignify it, but that it is a definite part of our common human nature.

Its roots strike down into the same natural soil as the rest of our life, and its flower and fruitage grow and expand in the same natural air and sunshine as the lilies of the field and the birds of the air. This is not to degrade man, but to dignify nature. All nature is divine by the same token. The idea of divinity is not science; it is mysticism, poetry, theology, or something else.⁴

The thalamus in the middle of the brain stem contains the central controls for the co-ordination of emotional

³ Herrick, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

reactions as they affect the various parts of the body. When behavior is directed by feelings without rational thought, as it usually is in the young child, this region is activating responses. The marks of progressive maturity are shown in the gradual subordination of the thalamus to the cortex. Feelings are held in check until ends can be evaluated and alternative outcomes weighed. Feelings are important indicators of values, but they need to be brought into contrasting relationships so that differences may be appreciated and conduct guided accordingly. One measure of a child's growth and refinement is the degree to which he can inhibit crude emotional responses and act with discriminating judgment. Parents and educators may help children to overcome persistent infantile tendencies by stimulating them to discover and work for larger and more creative objectives. Reason and critical thinking are the by-products of struggle, conflict, and difficult problem-solving, not of following emotions and impulses. Feelings will give data for thought-processes, but the adjustments of the growing child require more than thalamic direction.

People vary greatly in their sensitivities. Some are blind to certain color differences, or have defects in the construction of the eye so that they never see things in a normal way. Some are dull of hearing, and others are unable to distinguish certain odors or tastes. There is considerable difference in the sense of touch and in response to heat and cold. A child who is constitutionally much different from his companions is handicapped in interpretation of experiences and in ability to work and think with others. It should never be assumed that one gets the same meanings out of a situation as another, for

not only are sensations different but associations vary greatly. There are innate preferences in organic adjustments, but age, environmental conditioning, and experienced satisfactions or dissatisfactions widen the gaps between meanings, values, and judgments. Frequent physical examinations and sensory tests are desirable to discover the sense capacities and shortcomings and to indicate where allowances must be made and where corrections may be practicable. It is unjust to expect all children to keep up to an average when there are some with supersensitive, and others with subnormal capacities. Each should be measured and stimulated to realize his capacities but saved from straining to do that for which he has not the necessary organic equipment.

In considering the sense resources of a child, some think only of the eye or ear, but there are many other ways of making contact with one's world. There are eight major types of sensitivity—visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, cutaneous, kinesthetic, static, and organic—and each has varied qualities. For instance, the eye is able to distinguish form, color, depth, relationship of objects, and all degrees and combination of such. Each sense organ has a complicated receiving and transmitting mechanism and is connected with the spinal cord, brain, and other parts of the nervous system by almost instantaneous connections. Herrick says a human nerve will conduct a nervous impulse at the rate of 125 yards a second.⁵ This means that one may see an object, feel it, smell it, and perhaps hear some sound from it, the impressions being blended into one perception. One may see an object and raise one's arm almost at once to take it,

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

or to defend one's self. If anything goes wrong with the mechanisms, there is confusion and all kinds of strange illusions. As we usually perceive things, we take them for reality, or for that understanding of reality which most persons have. Each sense organ is selective, not responding to every stimulus, but being tuned to receive and transmit only certain kinds of stimuli. The ear, for instance, picks up certain sounds from a babel of noises and transmits them in such a way that even a baby may recognize its mother's voice, or a little child his own name, or an older child some signal that he is waiting for. And by the process of analysis, association, and synthesis the child learns to interpret the impressions which come from differences in stimulating air waves as familiar words, musical selections of a particular kind, danger signals, approvals, the barking of his dog, the call of a chum, or other meaningful and distinctive sounds. The combination of different sense stimuli coming from any object or situation gives both a unified total impression and an analytic experience of different factors.

Likewise, growing capacities and attained skills give different meanings to experiences. A child who has learned to throw a ball, and has played baseball, responds to a ball game differently from the younger child who cannot play, or from one who is physically unable to play, or who has other interests. A child whose fingers and body respond to music from good training and practice will have a different quality of sensitivity and tendency to respond to musical stimuli from one who does not have such training. The child who has learned to control his body in rhythmical response to the music of a dance, or to some gymnastic drill, will be more likely to be graceful

in all his movements than one who has never enjoyed such privileges, or who has been permitted to become careless in posture, walk, and general adjustments. The body develops motor readinesses as well as sense alertness, and attitudes are determined in large part by these developed sets.

Scientific progress and invention have given us many means for improving and extending our sensitivities and responses. The telephone, telegraph, camera, microscope, telescope, phonograph, radio, printing machine, automobile, and a host of other instruments and machines have widened the child's ability to get meaning out of life's happenings and to relate himself to them in satisfying ways. An optician may fit a pair of glasses, a surgeon may correct a muscular defect or remove a cataract, thus changing the whole outlook on life. Through advances in medical knowledge and skill, and through the increasing social-mindedness of individuals and communities, remedial and corrective work is being performed for children of all economic classes, so that sufferings and handicaps are being reduced in all kinds of bodily defects. It is thrilling to see the changes in personality which result from such physical ministrations.

Children like what they are able to respond to with satisfaction and dislike experiences which cause difficult adjustments. Possibilities of change in dispositions, ambitions, interests, social behavior, and self-mastery all involve organic readinesses and associations which may build up happy experiences. Sometimes a child is stimulated too much before he is capable of appreciation, or of giving satisfying response. Or it may be that everything is done for him, and he simply fits in mechanically to the

program that is made for him. A good many, of course, lack the stimuli and opportunities to develop their capacities. Talents are not closely correlated with disciplined skills and trained bodies. Many schools and homes permit children of large abilities to develop careless habits and do not call forth effort by patient encouragement and wise guidance. Some children, for example, might never enjoy playing a musical instrument if they had to practice alone and did not experience the satisfaction of group work. But put into an orchestra of mixed quality, some beginners and some advanced, they will soon develop a spirit of interest and willingness to practice.

Three levels of reactions are generally differentiated in a child's reactions, each involving a different relation to the higher thought centers. There is the simple reflex such as the pupil reflex, jerking of a knee, and flow of saliva, none of which reaches a conscious level, though conscious attention may be given to them and to some extent may modify them. A good many automatic reactions of the body are of this type, operating through local nerve ganglia, and forming local units of the total life-process. The second level is seen in habits where complex forms of response are carried on more or less mechanically. The stimuli find co-ordination through the spinal cord, cerebellum, or thalamus, and vary in the degree of consciousness necessary to keep them in flexible adjustment. The third level means that the stimuli have gone to the cerebral cortex for direction, and the thought-processes are called into operation. Alternatives are held in balance while imagery, ideas, and ideals condition decisions and actions. The many million nerve cells of the cortex are essential to this flexible adjustment. The most

highly educated chimpanzee has less than half as much of this connecting tissue in which to store experience and to use in evaluating and directing conduct. Dr. Herrick says, "The whole cortical apparatus is wound up and set on a trigger so that the latent reserves of motor power and memory patterns may be released by the slightest impulse set in motion by some external event or some change in the interior of the body."⁶ Educationalists differ in their expectations of this reserve of patterns and experiential energy. Some believe that a child will tend to do only that which is very similar to what he has done before—that his learnings are specific. Others regard these memories as built up around centers of interest and capable of being recombined in almost any way, giving a possibility of wide transfer in learnings. If the processes of thought were confined to reactions of the first or second level, we might have much more limited adjustment, but the cortical connections seem to multiply with growing experience and with interrelated events.

The second major control in human functioning, as already stated, is the chemical regulation performed by glandular secretions. This area of physiology is only slightly explored, and the exact influence of each gland is not yet determined. For a time the glands were divided into two classes—the ductless secreting directly into the blood stream and the duct glands secreting on to the membrane tissues. Some, however, like the pancreas and sex glands, have a dual function. The glands secreting directly into the blood stream are called "endocrines," such as the thyroid, parathyroid, adrenal, and pituitary, and their secretions act as powerful drugs. To give an

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

idea of their strength, physiologists tell us that if an ounce of adrenalin were diluted to the ineffective point (i.e., so that it would not stimulate nerve tissue) it would require a procession of 50 miles of water tanks, each holding 625 gallons, and placed 200 to the mile. A corresponding dilution of the pituitary secretion would, however, require a 5,000 mile procession of such tanks.⁷ These glandular secretions are carried to all parts of the body, controlling processes of growth and action and keeping a balance in actions by activating one part and repressing another. We are told that, although there is never more than a quarter-grain of thyroxin circulating in the body at any time, yet it spells the difference between imbecility and normal mental development. A baby born with an inadequate thyroid gland may become "a misshapen, drooling little being with protruding tongue and abdomen, and grow up to be a stunted, bandy legged imbecile."⁸ Again a child with a hyperactive pituitary may become a giant physically, perhaps a circus freak, with mentality probably less than average. An excess of adrenalin secretion is likely to cause accentuated male sex traits whether the child is a boy or girl, producing unfortunate abnormalities. The shape and size of the features, and of various parts of the body, and the rate of the activities of different organs are all affected by these internal secretions.

Some interesting experiments have been made in attempts to correct defective glandular functioning. In general, the method employed is to introduce chemicals taken from the glands of lower animals, or manufactured to match the type of secretion lacking, when there is a

⁷ R. G. Hoskins, *The Tides of Life* (New York: Norton, 1933), p. 22.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

hypoactive condition, and to use surgery or X-ray treatment when there is a hyperactive functioning. In a review of *Recent Advances in Endocrinology*⁹ Dr. A. T. Cameron gives some astonishing descriptions and pictures of changes accomplished by such treatments. He shows a picture of a cretin baby at eighteen months, physically and mentally deficient, and again at sixty-six months after he had been given regular doses of thyroid extract and was practically normal, physically and mentally. Another illustration presents a nine-and-a-half-year-old girl, dwarfed and misshapen, 35½ inches in height, and the contrasting picture of the same child two years later after treatment with pituitary extract (bovine). She had grown 5.4 inches and was almost normal in facial expression and bodily development. Another case shows an eight-year-old boy in a severe diabetic condition, emaciated, tired, and drowsy, unable to keep up in school work, and again, after six months of insulin treatment, a happy, contented school boy who had gained 16 pounds. Changes like these are being achieved in hundreds of cases in all parts of the world, but many do not respond to treatment with such favorable outcomes, for stimulation of one kind may completely upset a balance in another part of the organism. It is impossible to duplicate nature's normal state of equilibrium.

In many cases a better-balanced diet is required, for the body must have certain definite materials to keep it in a healthy, active state. There are substances called vitamins, which seem to act in a manner similar to the hormones of the glandular secretions, though not in such

⁹ *Recent Advances in Endocrinology* (New York: P. Blakiston's Sons & Co., 1935), pp. 68, 154, 322.

dominating fashion. Some of these have been identified as vitamin A, found in green vegetables, carrots, milk, cheese, and eggs; vitamin B in whole grains, beans, peas, and milk; vitamin C in oranges, lemons, tomatoes, and raw cabbage; vitamin D in cod-liver oil, egg yolk, milk, and green vegetables.¹⁰ They help to protect the body from various diseases, and, though their manner of working is not yet certain, a lack of one of them is likely to result in a predictable type of disease, while a supply of foods containing the missing vitamin corrects the condition. When poverty prevents a well-balanced diet, or ignorance permits children to develop wrong eating habits, their resistance to disease is lowered, and they become susceptible to the ever-present germs. The body also needs a supply of mineral substances, and especially in childhood; lime for teeth and bones and for certain parts of the nervous tissue; iron for the red corpuscles of the blood; phosphorus for every cell in the body and particularly for the cerebral cortex; iodine for the thyroid gland; and various others in small but essential amounts. The proteins, fats, carbohydrates, roughage, and water, comprising most of our food, provide materials for building tissue, supply heat and energy, and aid elimination. The body has to use whatever is provided; and, if it were not for the fact that nature is generous in her distribution of materials, most children would be much worse off than they are. A study of nutritional needs in different seasons and in various parts of the country is required for guidance of parents. For instance, in a survey among the school children of Detroit in 1924 it was found that 36

¹⁰ H. C. Stuart, *Healthy Childhood* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1933), p. 149.

per cent had enlarged thyroid, or what is commonly called goiter. This condition was due to a lack of iodine in the foods, water, and milk of the district. Public interest was aroused, iodized salt was provided and sold in the stores, and within two years the incidence of goiter was reduced three-quarters. After seven years there was only 2.1 per cent evident in a sampling study.¹¹ No improvement of educational procedure in the Detroit schools could have compensated for the lack of this basic stimulant for mental and physical growth.

The operation of all glands is affected by maturity, general health, diet, emotional excitation, fatigue, and many other factors. It is well known that a little child feels quite differently toward the other sex than an adolescent, owing to the difference in maturation and activity of the sex glands. One who is continually irritated by poor discipline, teasing, or bullying will have personality disturbances that are closely correlated with oversecretion of the adrenal glands and undersecretion of stomach and intestinal glands. Fatigue and overexcitement may also affect the adrenals, causing a child to be irritable and unable to control his feelings. Too many carbohydrates and sugars in the diet may overcrowd the system and hinder the pancreas from functioning, causing a diabetic condition. Physical appearance, temperament, intelligence, sociability, and attractiveness depend upon a balanced glandular secretion, which, in turn, depends upon the food and the regular health regimen. It is much easier to keep a child in health and normal functioning than to build up a desirable balance, once the equilibrium has been upset.

¹¹ Hoskins, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

From before birth to old age the human body is beset with enemies—germs, bacteria, environmental deficiencies, undue strains, and accidental injuries. The prenatal condition of the mother has much to do with the health, strength, and vital energy of the child. If she is in ill-health or lacks proper nutrition, the child may be handicapped by rickets, or have a puny constitution susceptible to tuberculosis, pneumonia, diphtheria, or other diseases. If either parent has contracted a social disease, the germs may be transferred to the child, blind him, or start an infection which may be worse than death. Poverty or ignorance may prevent proper care or the correction of a minor defect or ailment. If a child comes through the first two or three years, his first contacts with neighborhood children may give him measles, scarlet fever, mumps, colds, or even infantile paralysis, or meningitis. A parent might worry continually over the hazards his children run, and in his worry make his children nervous and fearful, but it would be wiser to take good precautions and then adjust to whatever comes. School and widening contacts subject a child to many chances for disease and accidents, but with reasonable care the human body shows a marvelous power of endurance and recovery. Science has produced serums, vaccines, and antitoxins, which may immunize a child against some dangers, but there are still risks which must be run. Sickness and suffering, if well met by the child and his parents, may result in personality gains, for there are some qualities which cannot be achieved except through hard discipline. But in most cases there are scars left on the personality as well as on the body. Sickness should call forth latent reserves of endurance, make a child more

ready to meet difficulties, and give him a tendency to take the role of others in trouble; but it may leave him a whining, dependent, unreasonable, and selfish creature. The outcome depends as much upon the attitudes of those about him as upon the resources within. One should not expect too much from a child; but, if he can learn to master his difficulties and find satisfaction in so doing, he has achieved a distinct asset for life.

There is no average child, and any table of averages is only a convenient measuring device from which to reckon deviations. Each child must reach his own normal growth as heredity and environment provide him with material and opportunities. Racial characteristics, family history, climatic conditions, economic privileges, health, normal activities, and special activities all affect the growth and functioning of an organism and make one child different from another. A short, light-weight child may be as healthy as a tall, heavy, muscular, athletic one. But differences in noses, chins, shoulders, arms, legs, teeth, hair, and other parts cause children to have different social attention and social freedom. Deviations from the majority cause self-consciousness and, as the child grows, may lead to unfortunate self-defense mechanisms or withdrawal from social activities. When a peculiar characteristic is inevitable, a child must be helped to regard it as only incidental to his total equipment and ability to do things worth while.

Education does not allow sufficiently for individual differences, nor does it provide adequately for the total expression of either physical or mental capacities. It has become routinized, with rigid forms and program, with norms that are abstract and removed from life, and with

too much attention given to manipulation of words. A little child is restless, eager to use all his sense organs, nerves, and muscles. He rejoices in vigorous play—running, dancing, laughing, talking, singing, handling things, and exploring. He likes colors, music, fragrant smells, lights, textures, things to feel and manipulate. It is no wonder that the ordinary school procedure is tiresome and uninteresting to many children. The visual and auditory organs are overworked, and the manual activities are too limited. Progressive schools have introduced changes which call different capacities into action and give more thrilling experiences, sensory and functional. Concomitants of a learning situation are often as important as the central goals. Companions, socially shared activities, sunshine and fresh air, exercise, humor, regularity, creativity, and a hundred other factors are conditioning influences shaping character continually. Instead of leaving these important influences to chance, education should plan for the happiest possible combination. The child's body and personality grow together, and, since what affects one modifies the other, his program should not be thought of as partly mental and partly physical but as a unified whole. There should be concern for bodily needs and responses in all the mental, social, and aesthetic training, and a similar interest in the spiritual qualities when play, gymnastics, and athletics are being used for physical exercise and development.

If a child has grown normally and had opportunity for healthy development physically and spiritually, he will show it in his posture. It is not enough to be physically strong, and to have good habits of sitting, standing, and walking. A child must show more than mechanical ade-

quacy. He must reflect a vigorous personality. There are some simple principles to be kept in mind if a child is to maintain good physical posture, but the most needful factor is to have self-respect and high purposes. He may learn to bluff his way, put on a "good front," and assume a role superior to his worth and ability; but sooner or later his true nature will be discovered, and he will have difficulty in regaining status. Children need to be encouraged to do their best, given recognition for achievements, and helped to find worthy goals. Good health, poise, and attractive manners will come readily as secondary outcomes of their total experience. Exhortations to stand up straight, to look others in the eye as peers, to keep good health habits, etc., are of very little use, even if most parents and teachers try to build personality that way. The child must help himself and must be the ruler of his own body. It must serve him. He must rise above animal habits and be something more than a mechanical set of responses to outside dictators—or to an inside dictator for that matter. He must feel a sense of spiritual worth, and his body should respond as a beautiful organ to his will.

In the next two chapters we will expand this discussion of the organic basis of personality by giving special attention to the intellectual capacities and dynamic factors. They are fundamentally biological adjustments of highly developed organisms, and, even when psychological terms are used, the underlying organic responses are assumed and constantly kept in mind. The developing child must be thought of as a unified being. We shall look at the elements which make intelligence and condition its operation—basic sensory experiences which provide the "stuff"

for thinking, memory which is registered in cortical neurones and predisposed organs, and vocal gestures which become meaningful in social adjustments. And, then, because "life is a dynamic relationship between structure and environment,"¹² we discuss the "coiled-spring" energy stored in nerves, muscles, and glands. We are interested in the inner drives of the organism, the outer excitants of life-situations, the end-seeking character of all activity. For every psychological concept there is a corresponding biological experience or set of experiences. Life may be seen from many different angles, and personality is but one way of describing the life-patterns of a given organism called man. It is an attempt to mark the differentiations of a human from other beings, but, because he is so closely bound to all the rest of nature, to describe a difference is to note a similarity.

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¹² G. A. Dorsey, *Why We Behave like Human Beings* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1925), p. 122.

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CHAPTER IV

INTELLECTUAL FACTORS

A review of the genetic process of intellectual development makes clear its intimate relation to other characteristics in personality growth. The child begins life sensitive to certain types of stimuli, organized in such a way that he will respond significantly to meet his biological needs. At birth he shows an awareness of his environment and a differentiation in his preferences. His limbs respond to the new freedom, his lungs drink in air, his voice box gives utterance to a cry, his skin gives different sensations to heat and cold, his lips begin their sucking motion about a nipple, his system knows the difference between foods, he acts differently according to the handling he gets, and in many ways he shows a readiness to make important relationships to his environment. His experiences modify his attitudes and responses, and, in general, those actions which give him satisfaction tend to be repeated and those which bring him annoyance tend to be inhibited. Desires are created for certain kinds of experiences, and his activities are largely directed toward the satisfaction of his growing and changing wants. Slowly he learns to identify different factors and to react to them in specific ways, and memory preserves the different feelings he has in relation to different activities and outcomes. These form the background of his knowledge, and, as they are recalled and used, certain facts of experience become more usable than others. Before a child can talk, he has begun to organize his experiences in signifi-

cant ways, or perhaps, as some would say, his body has begun the work of organization before there is any self-consciousness.

As he develops language ability in the interesting way described in chapter i, he is able to attach sound forms to his experiences, to identify them more easily, and to have more meaningful relations with persons about him. Now his intellectual growth is more rapid, and his world widens. Instead of reacting directly to immediate stimuli, he is working in a more involved process, joining his past and present experiences to those he shares with others, and trying not only to make a present adjustment but also to anticipate possible future ones. He learns to take the role of others, to talk with them, to cause them to do things he wants, to co-operate with them in things they want done, and to multiply meaningful interchanges of thoughts and acts. As experience widens, he makes more and more mental adjustments, and his equipment for thinking increases. He has memories, concepts, an increasing vocabulary, precedents in former adjustments and solved problems, and many examples of how others do and say things. He can put things together in his imagination and make his meanings intelligible to others by words and gestures. He discovers laws in the operation of events, knows somewhat of the things that are likely to happen, develops foresight, anticipates outcomes, learns to judge, to inhibit certain impulses, and finds that some things are won by persistence and others by discretion. If he has stimulating surroundings, intelligent parents, and other associates, he will grow steadily in the ability to make satisfactory adjustments to his physical and social world.

To make this intellectual factor more significant, let us briefly contrast the adjustments of the child with those of the lower animals. Some psychologists would make mind and intelligence coextensive with life, including plant and animal as well as human life.¹ They would say that intelligence is a salient pushed out in the process of organic evolution. It is a product of problem-solving, the meeting of the continually changing demands of a continually changing environment. No single quality in human nature in its manner of intellectual functioning is entirely distinct from the lower animals, and the processes of organic adjustment to environment in plants are closely akin to those in animals. There are no fixed boundary lines in the evolution of intelligence, and differences at each level of progressive development are more of degree than of kind. Some would, of course, limit intelligence to humans, calling the similar powers of adjustment in the animals instincts and habits, and in the plants tropisms and chemical change. Animals seem to have the kind of reactions out of which rational conduct grows, but the full functioning power of humans comes only with the special organization of the cortex and the superior organic co-ordinations. Some would say that even with his superior equipment the child would not become human and able to use the equipment of higher intelligence if it were not for the attainment of a flexible language. While animals have apparently conflicting tendencies, with perhaps contrasting images owing to previous experiences, they do not seem to have the means for weighing alternatives and making choices upon the

¹ R. M. Yerkes, *Introduction to Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1911), chap. xviii.

basis of meanings and possible outcomes. A child of even two or three years who has begun to talk may do this, and, as his power of speech improves, he can present these choices to himself and reason about them. The child's intellectual superiority is undoubtedly dependent upon a superior biological heritage, but it is also dependent upon this tool of socializing experience, this means of putting experiences together and seeing the significant relations between them so that conduct can be guided by the totality of experience. It is easy to find similarities and differences between animal and child behavior, but it is difficult to state what is unique.

The nature of intelligence has been discussed by psychologists for years, and the various theories that have been developed have influenced the interpretations of the place of intelligence in conduct. The old faculty psychology talked of memory, attention, sense discrimination, and other mental abilities as separate faculties, and this picture of the mind and its method of functioning is the one most people have yet. Children's behavior is explained on this basis as due to a native faculty which has been trained or exercised along certain lines, or to the absence of strength in a certain faculty. A name is put on a certain condition as if it accounted for the behavior. With the advent of mental testing the concept of general intelligence arose, and it was assumed that all the thought-processes worked together in a mental adjustment. Different types of questions were assembled in standardized tests, and children were differentiated in their intellectual capacity by their ability to answer the questions. The familiar intelligence quotient (I.Q.) came to be used as an index, and persons were classified accord-

ing to their scores, the average group including I.Q.'s of 90-110, and others ranging above and below, from the gifted to the idiot. This method of averaging scores on a variety of test questions and calling the composite score an index of intelligence has been severely criticized by some psychologists. Spearman, for instance, says the result is just as meaningless as averaging the scores of a child in a series of games and sports and calling the hotch-potch a sports quotient (S.Q.)²

Many others still feel that the term "general intelligence" is a satisfactory one and that the indices from mental tests are useful. They at least are convenient means for dividing groups into those of low and high intelligence, even if they do not indicate differences in kinds of abilities. They permit parents and educators to get an objective estimate of ability and to know somewhat of the likely range of intellectual capacity. Extended studies have shown that a child who makes a low rating on a mental test will not change much by educational training in his relative position with his classmates and that one who makes a high rating will hold his superior relative position. The child of low intelligence will probably develop a little more slowly than the superior child and will reach the maximum of his attainments sooner. Education is necessary, however, for the fullest functioning of whatever intellectual power a child may have; and, as should be expected, different types of educational procedure show different results in the test scores. The change in I.Q., however, even under the best system, is small, though it may be an important change, especially in the just-below average, or average, type of intellect. Studies

² C. Spearman, *The Abilities of Man* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), p. 69.

at the University of Iowa have shown that I.Q.'s vary with the school attended. Special nursery-school training raised the scores of a group of children, and those who continued in the University laboratory schools continued to improve, while those who went on to the ordinary city schools held their gains but did not continue to improve. One little girl entering the nursery school at three years of age tested barely at "average," at first grade was rated "superior," and in the period observed from second to eighth grade hovered just below "genius." A few large gains like this were found, but the majority did not change more than about five to ten points.³

Thorndike has supported the theory of general intelligence and has been responsible for some significant tests. He believes that intelligence is composed of many different abilities, each of which is dependent upon physiological bonds, or connections, in the nervous system and cerebral cortex. The higher and more complex types of intelligence he ascribes to larger numbers of connections and more elaborate relationships between them. A child may be born with a nervous system capable of high development or with less, but the native capacity controls the intellectual manifestations. Thorndike definitely distinguishes between the mental abilities—the power to deal with abstract ideas and relations—and those other personality strengths which are also essential, such as courage, patience, industry, good temper, etc. He finds the development of vocabulary and skill in use of words as numbers important for the functioning of intellect.⁴

³ B. L. Wellman, "Education Can Change Intelligence," *National Parent-Teacher Magazine* October, 1935.

⁴ E. L. Thorndike, *The Measurement of Intelligence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1926).

Spearman differs from Thorndike in his interpretation of the findings of tests and experiments in this field. He believes that the best conclusion is to assume a general factor "which enters into measurement of ability of all kinds, and which is constant for any individual, although it may vary greatly for different individuals." He calls this factor *g* and thinks its chief characteristic is mental energy. With it three other factors co-operate in greater or less degree and affect the personality manifestations. The first of these is called *c* and is seen in the degree of retentivity, or perseveration; the second is *o* and is evident in the oscillations of mental efficiency, which is closely related to fatigue conditions; the third is *w* and is marked by self-control. The descriptions of *g* are rather vague but include characteristics like (1) a power to grasp relations, (2) an ability to abstract, (3) a volitional intensity, and (4)—the main characteristic—mental energy. In addition to this general unitary factor in intelligence, Spearman hypothecates a number of special abilities which he calls *s*, each of which is independent of the other. A child may have a certain amount of mental energy, native and acquired, and, in addition, special abilities for developing particular skills.⁵

A deviation from both Thorndike and Spearman is found in the concept of intelligence set forth by Thurstone in his latest writings. He does not posit any general factor like Spearman, or take Thorndike's three types of general intelligence—abstract, social, and mechanical. By a factorial analysis of the results of using a large battery of tests, he seeks to identify special abilities. Seven of these are named and partially described: number

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 411 ff.

facility, word fluency, visualizing, memory, perceptual speed, induction, and verbal reasoning.⁶ A child may be tested to discover his power in each of these primary mental abilities, and a profile can be drawn to show where he is strong and where he is weak. These profiles may indicate the kind of teaching method which would be most profitable and would assist in giving vocational and educational guidance. When further studies have been made and the major abilities have been identified, Thurstone believes that the tests may aid in discovering unsuspected talents and in showing where undue stimulation might only aggravate a weakness. Many studies are going forward in this field, and the next few years should see some significant results.

Though we cannot find any fixed line of division between animal and human intelligence, and though psychologists differ as to whether there is any single and unitary capacity and as to the relation of special abilities, yet the central characteristic seems to be in the ability to use experience and to make adjustments to changing situations. There are all degrees of intellectual ability and of development at each age level and many variations in kind of capacities. Development is noticed in the degrees of attainment of such factors as:

1. The perception of meanings in objects and processes and relationships
2. The accumulation of experiences which can be recalled to aid in necessary and desired adjustments
3. The organization of effective responses, mental and overt, verbal and material, to given situations

⁶ L. L. Thurstone, "A New Conception of Intelligence," *Educational Record*, October, 1936; "The Factorial Isolation of Primary Abilities," *Psychometrika*, September, 1936.

4. The use of abstract ideas relating one experience to another, and the power of analyzing the issues in any relationship
5. The use of language to express meanings, to transfer one experience to another situation, and to reconstruct experiences
6. The disposition to use these abilities in solving problems⁷

At birth the child shows readinesses to adjust himself to many given situations, and as he grows flexibility and skill is developed. Even the earliest responses are complex; for a child adjusts himself as a whole, and not one reflex or organ at a time. It is only after considerable experience that he becomes able to inhibit some responses voluntarily and to select others consciously in his reactions. But, as he gains this power and controls his actions in order to achieve particular results, meanings multiply and responsibility for adjustments becomes significant. Language then serves an important part in rehearsing alternative roles and procedures and in presenting to one's self and to others reasons for actions. The thought-process is completed when the capacity for complete socialization is attained and particular acts are related to a totality of living. For the intellectual adjustments of a child are more than responses to an immediate and localized situation; they involve continuity and consistency, a systematic organization of conduct about ever enlarging objectives and outreaching purposes. In trying to understand this very complicated matter of intelligence and its growth in the child, one must keep away from atomistic conceptions and recognize the fact that order and meaningful adjustments are accomplished by the flexible

⁷ Cf. K. Lewin, *A Dynamic Theory of Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935), p. 209; G. D. Stoddard and B. L. Wellman, *Child Psychology* (New York, 1934), p. 176. By permission of the Macmillan Co., publishers.

adaptation of parts within related wholes. Intelligence is but one phase of a growing personality's adjustment.

It is impossible to judge mental capacity by appearances. Many experiments have shown that it is very easy to select a number of pictures of persons of different mental caliber, so that no one can rank them more accurately than by chance guess. There does not seem to be any consistent similarity between physical characteristics and intellectual abilities, except in the case of some of the lowest mental types, such as the Mongol, cretin, or microcephalus. Even some of these cases might be misjudged by many persons. Goodenough and Anderson give two pages of photographs of children four and five years of age, in which differences in I.Q. range from 80 to 137.⁸ In judging these, the writer has seen graduate students put the lowest first and the second highest in the lowest rank, although they were seeking carefully for signs of mentality. In an article on feeble-mindedness Pintner gives several pages of pictures of feeble-minded persons, ranging in mental age from two to seven years. A twelve-year-old child with mental age of two years might easily be mistaken for a very promising and intelligent child. A girl of twenty-five with a mental age of four looks like a bright child of thirteen or fourteen, and a man of twenty-eight with a mental age of six like a university graduate.⁹ Neither facial expression nor posture is a safe guide in estimating intelligence. A physical defect or a bad habit may cause one to discount ability, and

⁸ F. L. Goodenough and J. E. Anderson, *Experimental Child Psychology* (New York: Century Co., 1931), p. 225.

⁹ R. Pintner in *Handbook of Child Psychology* (1931), chap. xix, "Feeble-mindedness."

a cheerful appearance with overflowing vitality may cause one to overevaluate the intellectual capacity. Yet most persons judge others on first impressions and take biased attitudes toward them without further acquaintance. A teacher often takes a prejudice against a child simply because she does not like his looks or some peculiarity of manner. She may give special privileges to a high-grade moron because of his cheerful disposition and docile manner and be cruel and sarcastic to a gifted child who does not conform to class rules and is hard to manage. Ignorant prejudices are in many cases the cause of great injustices to children in homes, schools, and in general life. It is important to help children cultivate good manners, attractive habits, and desires for social graces, for these are distinct assets and contribute to personality unless they become ends in themselves. Parents should also try to correct physical defects which handicap a child and should help children to make the best appearance possible without making them self-conscious. While they should learn to appraise personality on deeper values than looks, and have a quiet confidence in their own worth, yet first impressions are important in all human relations. One can get better attention and co-operation, and can project the weight of one's personality to more advantage if he does not have to overcome prejudices or wait until others know him well. Personality impressions are important as well as personality values.

Because subjective estimates are so inaccurate, there has been a determined movement in recent years to find objective tests which might readily and dependably differentiate differences in degree of mental capacity and of developed intellectual abilities. A good many tests have

been experimented with, but only a few are in general use. Revisions of the Binet-Simon Scale are still among the most popular forms;¹⁰ but other types, especially in relation to preschool children, are being tried. Lists of available tests and manuals for keeping their administration uniform are easily accessible; but for accurate diagnoses it is necessary to have them given by trained psychologists familiar with the particular age being studied. It is easy for errors to creep in, both in giving the tests and in interpreting the results. Several tests are sometimes needed to obtain a dependable index; for children do not respond equally well to all parts of a test. The answers of the younger ones are much affected by interest in the test items, and the social background of the children influences their ability to handle most of the questions. Observation of behavior and records of school achievements are valuable checks upon any standardized test findings. In spite of their shortcomings and the difficulties in getting satisfactory measures, objective tests that have been scientifically prepared and standardized are very valuable in studies of individuals and absolutely necessary in comparative studies. Familiarity with the more common tests and the kind of information they obtain and the meaning of terms like "mental age" and "intelligence quotient" are vital for anyone reading scientific or even popular literature in this field.

A common assumption prevails that mental capacities are distributed in the population at large on the general basis of the normal curve. It is supposed that a small

¹⁰ L. M. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1916); J. P. Herring, *Herring Revisions of the Binet-Simon Tests* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924).

minority are of low-grade intelligence, and about the same proportion are high grade, and in between are the big majority, with the peak of the curve indicating the "average" person. Various studies would support this general pattern of distribution; but the common fallacy is to make this same assumption for small groups. School administrators sometimes try to impose the curve upon the gradings of small classes and artificially rank a few as low grade, a similar few as high grade, putting the rest at points along the scale so that the total arrangement is "normal." But every class is different, and no two classes will distribute alike if accurate mental tests are made. One class may have none of either high or low intelligence and another may have several superior children, or a number of low-grade intelligence may have gradually been shifted to a particular class. There are individual differences that need to be recognized in every group, and adjustments in curriculum or methods of teaching should be made upon the basis of carefully gathered objective facts. Stimulation and pressure can be applied effectively only if allowances are made for differences in capacity.

A contrast between some of the characteristics of gifted children and of those who are definitely feeble-minded may serve to lift out some of the factors most significant in the operation of intelligence. We see values more plainly when we are able to visualize extreme differences. In between, all degrees of difference in separate qualities and in combined characteristics will be found. After his study of a thousand gifted children Terman says, "They all show such real and varied difference between their abilities in school subjects as to warrant the statement that each child must be regarded as a unique individual

with specific mental mechanisms."¹¹ Our need is to be so well acquainted with the various factors which contribute to intelligence, and the various forms in which abilities show themselves, that we may be able to identify uniqueness.

From his studies of the gifted and control groups reported in *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Terman states that the indications of superior intelligence most often noted were: quick understanding, insatiable curiosity, extensive information, retentive memory, early speech, and universal vocabulary.¹² He found the average health history of the gifted group slightly above that of the control group, and the records showed they had walked and talked sooner and had had better nutrition. The gifted made better school records, 85 per cent being accelerated and none being retarded. Nearly one-half had learned to read before starting school, and the reading of an average gifted child of seven years of age equaled the average record of fifteen-year-olds in the control group. The special interest of a ten-year-old gifted child compared with those of a thirteen-year-old control child, and in character traits an eight- or nine-year-old gifted child compared with a fourteen-year-old control. The gifted showed slightly less interest in competitive games and considerably more interest in those requiring keen thinking. The gifted showed initiative and were not so dependent upon others, but in the sociability tests they had a slightly smaller score. Their independence apparently lessened their social tendencies. In comparing the means for the two groups for corresponding ages, it was found that the

¹¹ *Genetic Studies of Genius* (Stanford University Press, 1925), I, 361.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 285.

gifted exceeded the control by the percentages shown in Table 2. Mechanical ingenuity was the only trait in which tests were given where the average of the control group was higher than that of the gifted group, and the difference was not large.¹³

In his definition of gifted children Terman says that the line might be drawn at I.Q. 120 or above but that, if the line is drawn at 130 or 140, this grade is sufficiently

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF GIFTED CHILDREN EXCEED-
ING MEAN OF CONTROL GROUP
(TEACHER'S RATINGS)

Traits	Boys	Girls
Intellectual.....	92	89
Volitional.....	81	82
Emotional.....	68	68
Moral.....	65	59
Physical.....	58	64
Social.....	58	59

unlike average children as to need special educational opportunities. He estimates that, if the line were drawn at 130, about 1 per cent of the general school population would be included; at 140 about four or five in a thousand; and less than one in a thousand if drawn at 160.¹⁴ Because of this relatively small number, it is very likely that most people are not well acquainted with the superior types and hardly know what to expect of the highest grade of intelligence. Most popular news articles merely capitalize upon some striking peculiarity and do not describe the general behavior of a gifted child. [Gifted

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 543.

¹⁴ *Handbook of Child Psychology*, chap. xviii, "The Gifted Child," p. 569.

children are not "freaks," and if there is any unevenness in their development it is probably due to faulty handling or poor environment. They seem to have wide interests and large adjustability.

It is to be expected that there will be as wide deviations in particular characteristics among the gifted children as in any other group. They vary in every physical, mental, and personality trait. Some are far above the average in successful accomplishments and some far below. Terman emphasizes the fact that "no amount of generalizing from averages can take the place of case studies." He also calls attention to the problems of precociousness, suggesting that "the child of eight years with a mentality of twelve or fourteen is faced with a situation almost inconceivably difficult. In order to adjust normally such a child has to have an exceptionally well-balanced personality and to be well-nigh a social genius. The higher the I.Q. the more acute the problem." In spite of this difficulty, very few extreme cases of maladjustment were found in the California group.¹⁵ Perhaps their home support in the majority of cases was the saving factor.

If the gifted class begins at 130 or 140, the corresponding group at the opposite end of the intellectual scale will begin at 70 or 60. These are the feeble-minded who are sometimes divided thus: below 25, idiots; 25-50, imbeciles; 50-70, morons. The intelligence quotient is only one index to the characteristics of this group. As in other grades, they have wide variation in kind and, as a consequence, in personality appearance. Some are large, strong, and fairly well developed physically, while others are dwarfs, deformed, and helpless. Some have well-formed features, and others are hideous—hardly human.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 579.

Kanner says of this group that they are almost totally unable to adapt themselves to the simplest demands of their environment. They cannot think in the abstract, plan independently, or assume any duties or responsibilities. A few high-grade morons are the exception, being capable of simple routine duties; but they are not dependable and may do damage to themselves or others. They tend to act impulsively, without clear goals, and may wander away from home and not be able to find their way back. Being uninformed and uncritical, they may be used by others for immoral purposes, and young girls may even be sexually abused. Kanner speaks of one type of idiocy, the Mongolian, as being quieter, better natured, better behaved, and even affectionate, in contrast to the ordinary erratic and unresponsive type. But this type, he says, never attains an intellectual level above four years.¹⁶

Kurt Lewin discusses the differences in characteristics of the feeble-minded from the standpoint of dynamic behavior. He finds these shortcomings:

He is less differentiated in his structural plan and capacities, with less chance for development

He has a greater stiffness and an inability to adjust himself to different situations

He is unable to trust himself and clings to a few fixed habits rather than try out new ways

He seeks the least difficult way and turns to easier tasks if possible when faced with hard tasks

He has distinct psychological systems, which are seldom inter-related

He is easily subject to distractions

He is subject to fears

¹⁶ L. Kanner, *Child Psychiatry* (Baltimore: C. C. Thomas, 1935), p. 269.

He lacks imagination and tends to deal only with concrete and immediate situations

He is retarded in knowledge, emotional stability, and other adaptive factors¹⁷

Lewin emphasizes the fact that the feeble-minded child of eight years mental age is quite different from an eight-year-old normal child. A normal child solves an ordinary problem with ease, and, if he cannot, he is troubled by it; but a feeble-minded child does not perceive the situation in the same way, has not the same problems, and has not the same emotional reaction to it.

Stoddard and Wellman add these suggestions in describing the qualities of mental retardation:

In infancy, extreme delay in motor co-ordinations in standing, walking, and talking

In infancy, chronic failure to respond socially to other children or adults

Inability to learn games and habit routines, or to acquire information common to children of the same age

Dislike of things and activities which most children of his own age seem to prefer

Failure to show improvement in vocabulary, length of sentence, or ability to read

Noticeable failure to make generalizations, to learn from experience, to keep out of trouble

Failure to do satisfactory work in school, even when a reasonable amount of time is devoted to study

They note the need to differentiate in any and all of these defects those which may be due to other causes than feeble-mindedness, such as physical lacks in sight or hearing, or emotional disturbances.¹⁸

In the light of these striking differences between the two extremes of high and low intelligence it may be well

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

to discuss the factors which contribute to the healthy growth of intelligence in a normal child. Normal kinds of experience and training are supposed to develop average capacities, but little has been done to prove the possibilities of different environments and stimuli for different levels of intelligence. We have very indefinite knowledge as to what to expect of different types of intelligence, and our educational programs lack allowance for individual differences. In general, the following principles may be suggestive as basic to improvements along this line. They call attention to factors discussed in the various investigations of intelligence:

1. Good health and good health habits are foundational to alert sensitivities and energetic responses
2. The body needs to be a well-disciplined tool of the mind. The child must learn to quiet himself, settle down to a task, put his eyes on his work, listen to instructions, use his hands, feet, or other organs as the occasion demands, and have a responsive, well-co-ordinated organism contributing organized sensations to the mind and expressing its reactions in effective fashion
3. The child must develop language facility, a large vocabulary, and fluent expression in well-selected forms of speech. Careful diction is vital to exact thought
4. Interests of varied kind give motivation to all kinds of learning and multiply experiences and ideas which can be used in thinking
5. Practice in solving problems gives confidence in ability to solve problems and a psychological readiness to meet them. Children need to have enough help to release their powers and give them experience of success
6. Children need to learn the common tools necessary for solution of problems, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, manual skills, and conventional courtesies
7. The habit of concentration upon the task in hand, with resistance to other things which might distract. Often children are

given too many stimuli and are not permitted to concentrate. They need guidance and help in holding themselves to a given problem until it is solved

8. They need practice in analyzing situations and critically evaluating the various parts and issues involved. The critical approach ought to be carried forward to constructive improvement of the situation
9. Children need help in gathering useful general concepts and in putting their experiences together into rules of conduct and principles of working
10. Differences in intellectual ability should be allowed for by flexible programs which stimulate each child to do his best. Each child should find satisfaction in the achievement of his best. Some can handle a few concrete problems, others can enjoy the opportunity to solve intricate abstract problems and to engage in a variety of interesting activities without fixed boundaries of obligatory assignments
11. Special as well as general abilities need opportunity for development. Some love music and some do not; some enjoy mechanical operations and have real skills; various talents may be hungry for satisfactory expression
12. Facts relative to the common welfare of people need to be well understood so that profitable thinking can and will be done in the area of human relations. Children may have direct experience with many kinds of people and may learn to identify significant situations and problems needing solution
13. Thinking with other people, comparing and contrasting ideas, trying to get common views, and learning to discuss important matters without emotional conflict are necessary for good citizenship
14. Imagination should be stirred but disciplined. It is important for children to take the role of others, feel situations imaginatively, reconstruct things in their minds before acting impulsively, and to keep their wishes fairly close to possible realizations

All these principles are stated in a form which assumes that the mind of the child grows with his adjustments

and that intelligence involves experience as well as native organic neuromuscular sensitivities. Intelligence means both bodily and psychical flexibility, insight gained by varied adjustments, and resources that can be used in adjustments. Some of the factors mentioned are contributory to the situations in which intelligence can grow, and some are the direct processes of growth.

A child develops principles to guide him in his various adjustments; he passes the trial-and-error stage and can use his total experience to advantage. The growth of general principles and of a working philosophy of life is a definite sign of advance in the intellectual process. It is necessary to a feeling of stability and to the exercise of freedom. The child must find the principles of law and order, the sequence of common events, and the meaning of social relations if he is to develop consistency in his actions and to co-operate willingly. In the study of the developing child mind, his habits of thought, and his conception of the world, probably Piaget has contributed as much as anyone.¹⁹ Some of the principles which he enunciates may be briefly reviewed. He says that up to seven or eight the child has:

1. No feeling for the need of consistency in the explanation of events. Things which happen together are assumed to be related causally
2. A tendency to regard experience of others similar to his own. Later he begins to feel the significance of conflicting views and has to adjust his ideas to differing ones of other people
3. A tendency to speak and think in concrete terms, to visualize happenings, and to use the logic of analogy

¹⁹ J. Piaget, *The Language and Thought of the Child* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926); *The Child's Conception of the World* (1929); *The Child's Conception of Physical Causality* (1930); in *Handbook of Child Psychology* (1931), chap. xi, "Children's Philosophies."

4. An animistic attitude, treating impersonal things as if they were conscious and actuated by purposes like his own
5. A tendency to explain the origin of things by personal powers. First men made things, and then they went on generating themselves. Sometimes he becomes perplexed in trying to push things back a step farther. Miracles are readily believed; for he has no reason, except perhaps a conflicting picture in his mind, to doubt them
6. Five types of answers to questions which may be proposed to him—random explanations, romancing or inventive answers, attempts to satisfy the questioner, new reflections on a problem, and convictions already formulated under other conditions but pertinent now.

Piaget emphasizes the necessity of thinking with the child, learning to ask questions as he does, and giving him a chance to express himself without guiding him by suggestions. About nine or ten, or sometimes later, Piaget believes that the child shows a more critical tendency in his examination and explanation of things. He is not satisfied with fairy stories and artificial interpretations of things but demands more realistic descriptions and explanations. He wants to test things, to discover why things happen, and to find something more dependable than chance. He now shows capacity for abstract ideas and for both the logic of events and the logic of words. He will still reflect the attitudes of older persons and quote their statements, but he is beginning to criticize their actions and attitudes.

Intelligence is not the only prerequisite in the development of a working philosophy of life. The chief need is the maturation of experience which comes only with age and stimulating environment. It is a common error to expect too much from a child, to demand that he see the consequences of his acts and that he view things from the same standpoint as adults. Their rules of conduct are

those of expediency rather than of consistency. Superior children may see but not approve the viewpoint of adults if it does not further their objectives and find a working compromise. If a child is to build up a healthy philosophy of life, he needs to associate with intelligent adults, persons who are as flexible as he should be, and who can see things from his point of view and compromise occasionally. A child cannot take over an adult philosophy directly and make it his own without dwarfing his mind and personality.]

In concluding this chapter, we consider the relation of intelligence to other traits. Many studies of this kind have been made, and correlation indices have been determined; but usually the samplings have been small, and few checks have been tried by other investigators. At the present time, summaries of findings by competent psychologists are probably more significant to the ordinary educator than isolated studies. A few suggestive quotations from this field will be given. The first are by Murphy and Murphy in their comprehensive review of *Experimental Social Psychology*.

Regarding the differences of intelligence in boys and girls, they say:

From such data as we have (and there is a great deal of it) we can therefore say that as a rule sex differences in intelligence are not found; and with minor exceptions this generalization holds on sex comparisons among all the national and racial groups, and for all age levels.²⁰

[Regarding racial differences in intelligence, these writers state that nothing definite can yet be said; for the

²⁰ G. Murphy and L. B. Murphy, *Experimental Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1931), p. 121.

results of mental testing in attempting to differentiate different racial and national groups has only reflected the social world and culture patterns, and the samplings have been inadequate. It is impossible so far, for instance, to tell whether a favorable or unfavorable selection makes the difference or whether it is the environment which accounts for obtained differences.²¹

Regarding the relation of intelligence to delinquency:

Despite situational views, it does not seem perfectly clear that the proportion of delinquents of low intelligence is greater than the proportion of children of limited ability in the population at large. On the other hand, it seems equally clear from present evidence that a disturbing proportion of the juvenile delinquency is caused by young people who are of nearly average intelligence, if not better.²²

Regarding the influence of environment upon hereditary intellectual capacity:

If we summarize, then, the various implications of these data on heredity and environment, we may say that neither a moron nor a person of average intelligence is likely to develop to a level of outstanding brilliance through improvement in environment; and conversely, that a mind of distinctly high calibre is not likely to appear definitely inferior as a result of a poor environment; but that it is quite possible if not probable that, in general, slightly below average performance may be improved through environmental changes to somewhat above average performance. From the standpoint of the individual, or of the educator, or of the social scientist who is weighing democracy in the balance, this possibility is of the greatest moment.²³

Regarding the influence of intelligence upon suggestibility:

With the exception of Hurlock's results, all the evidence—and there is now a great deal of it—points to the consistency of the

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 108 and 113.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 393.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

decrease in suggestibility as mental age increases. . . . For the one thing that can consistently be expected to interfere with ideomotor suggestibility is the presence of contradictory ideas or habits.²⁴

The second group of quotations are from Hartshorne and May's findings in their *Studies in the Nature of Character*.

Regarding the relation of intelligence to deception:

Honesty is positively related to intelligence. In almost any group of children of approximately the same age, those of higher levels of intelligence deceive definitely less than those of lower levels.²⁵

Regarding the relation of intelligence to service:

The brighter children tend slightly to be more co-operative than the normal or dull children. The correlations are low, however (.095, .193, .163, and .161), for the four groups.²⁶

Regarding the relation of intelligence to self-control:

For three groups of children the correlations of intelligence and persistence were .224, .226, and .091; and between intelligence and inhibition were .071, .003, and .269.²⁷

Regarding the relation of intelligence to foresight:

With age constant, the correlation is .540 for 617 children of three groups. This is a significant relation, but it indicates that other factors are also involved.²⁸

Regarding the relation of intelligence to moral knowledge:

The correlations for four moral-knowledge batteries of tests averaged about .64, which, like the preceding correlations, indi-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

²⁵ H. Hartshorne and M. May, *Studies in Deceit* (New York, 1928), I, 409. By permission of the Macmillan Co., publishers.

²⁶ *Studies in Service and Self-Control* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), I, 266.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 446.

²⁸ *The Organization of Character* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), p. 247.

cates that other factors have considerable to do with one's ability to pass on moral-knowledge tests.²⁹

These statements are sufficient to indicate the fact that in some phases of conduct intelligence is an important factor and in others a quite secondary influence. Many popular opinions about intelligence prejudice persons in their appraisal of character and personality. It is necessary to have more thorough surveys and scientific studies to correct these impressions and to give facts for educational procedures. Social attitudes are colored by chance hearings, and very few keep a critical mind to weigh facts and carefully to consider outcomes. In the general run of experience we find many equalizing factors. The intellectually superior may have advantages of one kind, but those of lower mental caliber may have other compensatory traits. It is wise to help each child find a full and enjoyable life by using to advantage whatever powers he may have.

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²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

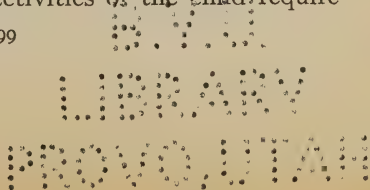
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CHAPTER V

DYNAMIC FACTORS

A child is a bundle of energy ever seeking satisfactory forms of expression. This energy is being renewed continually by the oxidation of food, and is stored in the fat and tissues of the body ready for instant use and as a dependable reserve. Each nerve and muscle seems to be like a coiled spring ready for action, but each one is released only by the particular stimulus to which it may be responsive. All forms of expression are subject to automatic or conscious control, and all have limited patterns in their fields of force. The organism has a flexibility, but within very definite and fairly well definable limits. In studying the dynamics of behavior, one is interested in the impulses, drives, attractions, fields of force, and other phases of motivation, and also in the inhibitions, barriers, and controlling mechanisms.

It seems almost a magical transformation to think of the way in which meats and vegetables, fruits and milk products, are changed into words, ideas, nervous and muscular activities, and other kinds of human behavior. But the respiratory, glandular, digestive, and circulatory systems are ceaselessly at work manufacturing energy out of these other natural resources, and the cerebrospinal system directs its channeling. To keep the organism alive and to promote growth and reconstruction of tissues in a child require 1,500-2,000 calories per day, which represents enough energy to lift more than 200 tons one foot. The mental and physical activities of the child require



from 1,000 to 2,000 calories more per day, depending upon the age and liveliness of the child. Varied food is needed not only to supply energy but also to provide building materials, and the diet of a child is vital to his vigor and growth. Ignorance of the right kind of diet for an active growing child, poverty which prevents securing the amount and kind of food, location which shuts off the best supply, or faulty habits which make the child refuse balanced and regular meals, may deprive the child of essential materials for healthy and vigorous development. He needs carbohydrates, proteins, minerals, and vitamins, and in such forms and quantities as his system can digest to advantage at each stage of growth.¹

Differences in temperament, disposition, alertness, activity, and even interests and desires, are influenced, if not controlled, by the chemical balance of the body. Perhaps in this regulation the glands are more responsible than any other organ. They secrete chemical compounds which are either poured directly upon the membranes and tissues or into the blood stream, and these affect the metabolic processes. Extra activity of the thyroid gland may affect the rate of growth or the rate of functioning, and increased activity of the adrenal glands will affect the speed of the heart and the degree of excitability, while enlargement of the pituitary gland may cause sluggishness and loss of initiative. Each gland has some chemical contribution to make to the processes, and though little is understood of the exact part each plays, enough is known to recognize either hyper- or hypofunctioning of

¹ M. S. Rose *Teaching Nutrition to Boys and Girls* (New York: Macmillan, 1932) pp. 13 f.; H. C. Sherman, *Food and Health* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), chaps. ii and iv.

particular glands. Some medical and surgical treatments are available for slight corrections of dysfunctioning, but comparatively little is known as to how to control their operations. From time to time fantastic statements are made as to the regulation of personality traits by glandular therapy; but the research in this field is only begun.

Sometimes the whole dynamic order of the body has been described under the term "instincts." It has been assumed that there were predetermined tendencies of the organism to function in certain ways and that these innate characteristics controlled in large measure the possible personality development. All the basic habits and attitudes of growing persons were supposed to be due to underlying natural and patterned forces. If the instincts did not act in the same way in all persons, it was due to some lack in the organism or some modifying influence in the environment. The whole theory was very vague, and no two exponents of the theory were agreed upon the naming of the instincts, or just how they worked. Most persons listing instincts had a hopeless confusion of what might be innate and what might be acquired, and a common characteristic was assumed to be due to common inborn tendencies. The effect of similar environments and common needs was not always considered. Today many psychologists dispense with the term in speaking of human behavior.² Biological processes and acquired forms of behavior are being given better analysis. While no one questions the fact of congenital conditioning, it seems impossible to separate those factors

² Cf. L. L. Bernard, *Instinct* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1934); E. T. Krueger and W. C. Reckless, *Social Psychology* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1933), chap. vi.

which are solely due to biological inheritance and those for which environment is clearly responsible. The two work together, and even from conception the forces interplay and affect each other. Some have thought they explained fundamental characteristics of children by saying they quarreled and fought because of fighting instincts, that they played in gangs because of gregarious instinct, and that they collected things because of an acquisitive instinct. It was simply putting a name upon frequent forms of behavior, without giving any evidence of inborn patterns of the kind, or accounting for the many kinds of fighting, ganging, or collecting. A general tendency, of which no one could accurately describe or identify the biological structure or the organization in which it operated, gained nothing by being given a general name. To account for personality differences one must get behind blanket terms like "human nature" or "instinct" and show how biological equipment functions in different environments.

One must recognize bodily processes which go on independently of conscious attention or direction. Cellular activity can be seen only under high-powered microscopes; but it goes on in a marvelous fashion from conception until death. It proceeds along organized lines, and specialized parts are formed, each having intimate relation to each other part, and the whole involved in a total life-process. As growth takes place, a demand is incessantly made for special building materials and supplies for energy in functioning. The stomach wants food, the lungs air, the body warmth; certain odors stimulate the hunger feelings, certain air conditions quicken the respiration, vigorous exercise speeds up the heart. The

life-cycle presses on with each part calling on each other part for co-operative effort. As the individual comes to the stage of self-consciousness, interest centers in these biological urges and in the secondary demands which grow out of them. The strongest and most persistent motivations for behavior of all kinds are closely related to these ceaseless demands of the organism. Desires for food, for activity, for satisfaction of the senses, for comfortable adjustment to surroundings, and for an endless lot of contributory factors, keep the individual in a perpetual quest, with the necessity of overcoming obstacles, exploring new situations, and using a developing mentality for creative production of felt needs. The child begins as a bit of the ongoing life-process, shares increasingly in it, and becomes more or less conscious of its meaning and value for himself and others like him.

Once the child passes the merely conscious state and attains self-consciousness and consciousness of other selves, life takes on larger meanings, and desires have greater horizons. Persons are far more stimulating than things, and, as soon as the baby begins to differentiate persons from things, he has entered an interacting process which will continually modify his desires and satisfactions. What a child takes an interest in when he is alone may be quite different from what he wants when he is with others. Others help him to discover things and values he might never find by himself. Meanings grow, knowledge multiplies, imagination becomes more active, skills increase, and social relations require ever new adjustments. Self-consciousness adds a critical quality to experience; for a child is aware not only of things which happen but also of things which did not happen, or might

have happened. He stands in the midst of happenings and judges them as they have value for his wants and goals. He is not content to let things come and go as they will but feels his power to make them occur in satisfactory ways. He now wants things not only because of a biological urge but as a self-conscious person with ability to differentiate values and outcomes in things about him. He definitely prefers some things to others and knows his ability to avoid much that he does not want and to achieve what he does want by persistent and creative techniques. The dynamics of behavior of a self-conscious individual are quite different from those of a merely animal organism.

Various attempts have been made to classify the developing wants of young growing persons. The chief value in such lists and classifications is to make parents and educators sensitive to the different types of possible interests of children at each age level. Each child will have certain needs and desires which are peculiar to him as an individual, and each environment will awaken its own kind of felt wants and possible outreaches. Changing conditions and maturing powers will mean continually changing desires. But a study of children's interests, felt needs, and searches for satisfaction is vital to an understanding of behavior.³ Faris has made a revision of the earlier classification of W. I. Thomas, who had four categories of wishes—desire for recognition, desire for response, desire for security, and desire for new experience. Faris has made three main divisions and several subdivisions under each:

1. The segmental wishes—appetites and cravings, like hunger and thirst

³ Cf. Krueger and Reckless, *op. cit.*, chaps. vi and vii.

2. The social wishes—desires for response, for recognition, and for participation with others in some movement greater than one's self
3. The derived wishes—for new experiences and for security

Krueger and Reckless describe what they consider as the organismic bases for each of these types of wishes. They recognize in the organism a vague restlessness and also urges which gradually become more specifically related to concrete objects and which meet particular needs and desires. They feel that social experiences and imaginative reconstruction of experience are two most important factors in shaping the character of these more specific forms.

One needs only to suggest some of the wants of children to emphasize this phase of motivation. They want things to eat—the baby is satisfied with a regular supply of the same kind, but the eleven-year-old seems to have an unlimited number of wants and seldom enough to satisfy him. They want things to wear—the baby enough to keep him comfortable, but the eleven-year-old girl color, variety, and style. Each wants possessions of his own—the baby whatever he holds at the moment, and the eleven-year-old an endless lot of useful and useless things. They want to go to new places and to do new things. The little child is easily satisfied, but the nine-, ten-, or eleven-year-old is always “on the go” and never able to find enough things to do. Lists of children's plays and games, collections, creative pursuits, reading, activities for different periods, and other evidences of interests and impulsions to think and to do are valuable. They help us to see that many of the drives of child life are neglected in setting up educational programs and that much of

desired learnings and growth may take place in an un-routinized but enriched environment.

An important but difficult field to explore in this area of dynamics is the emotions. Ogden says, "Our emotions are the most obscure part of our lives, and, as might be expected, the theory of emotion is the most backward part of psychology."⁴ Yet he adds, "On his emotional organisation a man's character essentially depends." Some emotional forms are present at birth, as Watson,⁵ Shirley,⁶ and others have clearly demonstrated. But the number and variety increase steadily, and it soon seems hopeless to differentiate primary and secondary forms. McDougall⁷ has tried to separate them by linking them with his hypothetical instincts. However, Carr is probably more correct when he says, "There are just as many kinds and varieties of emotions as there are distinctive behavior situations, and one emotion is just as unique, and primary, and fundamental as another."⁸ He suggests that, in view of their variable character, they can be identified and defined only in terms of the behavior situations in which they occur.

Instead of conceiving of emotions as drives, or motivating forces, it is probably better to think of them as

⁴ C. K. Ogden, *The Meaning of Psychology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1926), chap. xiv.

⁵ J. B. Watson, *Psychological Care of Infant and Child* (New York: Norton & Co., 1928).

⁶ M. M. Shirley, *The First Two Years* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1933).

⁷ W. McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (New York: John W. Luce Co., 1926), chap. iii.

⁸ H. Carr, *Psychology* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925), pp. 280-81.

indexes of motivation. They are the feelings which accompany an adjustment and which help to keep the adjustment process in continuance until satisfaction is achieved. They give color and deeper significance to responses and desires and so indirectly serve to influence the incentives, but they are not the driving forces which they are sometimes supposed to be. Thus a frightened child is not driven by fear, even when he runs away, and, of course, not when he stands paralyzed. Fear is an index of his confusion, of a sense of insecurity, and of a desire to escape. Watson⁹ has tried to describe the fear of an infant when, in reaction to a sudden loud noise or sudden removal of support, he quickly catches his breath, clutches at random with his hands, closes his eyes, puckers his lips, perhaps cries, and shows other signs of excitation. Other types of experience will produce some of these movements, but the total response is an indication of the confusion and excitation called "fear." Bernard¹⁰ calls emotions "composite types of consciousness" and believes they are made up of feeling tones, sensations, perceptions, conceptual organizations of perception, and other adjustments consequent to the particular disturbing situation.

Experience shows that through associative connections almost any emotion may be induced by almost any situation. A baby will play with a snake without hesitation but, by conditioning, may become terrified by the sight of a snake. A little child may have a strong aversion for a certain kind of food but, by association with other children or other favorable conditioning factors, may come to

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 161.

like the food and even to wonder why others can dislike it. Likes and dislikes are being continually changed by both planned and accidental means. Watson emphasizes the degree to which this conditioning process goes on in the early life of the child when he says:

At three years of age the child's whole emotional life-plan has been laid down, his emotional disposition set. At that age the parents have already determined for him whether he is to grow into a happy person, wholesome and good-natured; whether he is to be a whining, complaining neurotic, an anger-driven, vindictive, overbearing slave driver; or one whose every move in life is definitely controlled by fear.¹¹

He is undoubtedly extreme in his statement, for the conditioning process does not stop at three years, although after habits begin to set change is slower and more involved. He probably overstates adult responsibility. Children may get unfortunate starts in life because of ill-health, poor training, or other unfortunate circumstances, but few educators would believe that there was an unalterable fixidity to such beginnings.

It is important to guard a child against situations which unduly excite undesirable expressions of anger, jealousy, fear, shame, etc. Not only is there a bad psychological effect in habits and attitudes difficult to change but there are harmful physical results. Strang points out that the glands of internal secretion become active in the periods of emotional excitement and pour powerful drugs into the system. She comments:

Giving babies stimulants and drugs is an extremely bad practice and allowing them to manufacture their own drugs may be equally harmful. . . . The baby's chief business is growing. Calm

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

and contentment favor the building process. Fear and anger aid the tearing-down process and cause the body to lose ground.¹²

Every emotional reaction may have possibilities of good or evil for a child. Fear, for instance, is a necessary guard for most of a young child's adjustments. If it serves to indicate danger and to call forth greater alertness, it is good; but, if it becomes a paralyzing habit, it is detrimental. Even love may cause a child to become too dependent and to seek the emotion rather than to appreciate the protection and care which should encourage his best efforts.

Children will project their feelings into objects and situations and form likes and dislikes because of chance associations. It is unfortunate if they are allowed to build up inflexible attitudes toward any person or thing. They need to be ready to discover true values in any person or situation and to make adjustments without being handicapped by crippling prejudices. It is unwise to force children to try to overcome strong emotional sets, but it is also foolish to indulge them in their chance attitudes. They need to be helped to anticipate both favorable and unfavorable experiences without fear or prejudice. They can learn to like or dislike almost anything.

It is not merely by setting the stage that emotions are to be changed. Parents and teachers have a large responsibility for controlling conditions affecting a child's emotions, and they have a special duty to set worthy examples of controlled feelings. But a child must learn to control his own emotions for he cannot be excused for

¹² R. Strang, *An Introduction to Child Study* (New York: Macmillan, 1931) p. 50.

unrestrained temper, nor smiled at for petty jealousies, nor coddled for unreasonable fears. He must feel the undesirability of undisciplined conduct in others and also in himself and find the satisfactions which come with controlled rational decisions and actions. A few principles may be suggested for development of emotional controls in children:

1. Begin early. Guard a baby against formation of undesirable emotional habits. Let him enjoy experiences without too much excitement. As the child grows, watch the places where irritation begins
2. Guard health. Organic conditions make it difficult to control nervous reactions. Adults tend to excuse emotional displays in sick children rather than to help a child correct them.
3. Cultivate play situations where happy adjustments prevail. Help a child to meet successfully, or to avoid if it seems better, persons and situations that tend to develop unsocial attitudes and acts
4. Develop habits of reflection. Children can learn to weigh situations, to consider alternative procedures, and to set themselves to obtain desirable ends. They can analyze situations which arouse fears, hates, or jealousies, and learn how to overcome these feelings. They can discover the kind of situations which give them more invigorating reactions and plan for such
5. Let rules and principles grow in relation to concrete experiences. Children may not be much influenced by exhortations in abstract terms, but they may recall and use past experiences by simple precepts which have grown out of concrete learnings

Unreasonable fears, hates, jealousies, inferiority complexes, and other emotional disturbances are frequent. They may become obsessions or neurotic phobias of which no one recognizes the beginnings. They are drives toward undesirable conduct and need skilful diagnosis and treatment. We have referred to this type of maladjustment in another chapter, but here we emphasize the

need for protecting children from overstimulation, from especially irritating influences, and from strains on their energies. Some of these conditions can be corrected only as society appreciates the ways in which they affect children, and selfish profits give place to child welfare. Economic greed is probably responsible for more of these harmful factors than anything else, but ignorant carelessness is a strong contributory cause. Child labor, unsanitary housing, impoverished and crime-infested city districts, melodramatic movies, class strife, racial antagonisms, corruption of law and justice, and a thousand other conditions in modern society all exercise their devastating influences upon the impressionable child and wound him time and time again. Even in the most favorable homes and communities it is hard to build wholesome healthy attitudes and strong, confident, and hopeful personalities. Too many children are fearful, apologetic, grasping, irritable, suggestible, without respect for themselves or for others. They reflect docile, subservient attitudes and, like their elders, become ready victims for unscrupulous politicians and exploiters.

A few studies have been made as to the contrasting effects of rewards and punishments, of success and failure, of encouragements and discouragements. Among young children Lucile Chase¹³ found that praise was more effective than mere repetition in achieving skills but that rewards were even stronger than praise. The type of motivation definitely affected the amount of energy expended. Reproof and punishment acted about the same, both inhibiting action, but neither releasing much energy.

¹³ *Motivation of Young Children* ("University of Iowa Studies," Vol. V, No. 3).

In another study of young children Anderson¹⁴ discovered that a definite goal and knowledge of results of one's efforts to reach the goal evoked more effort. Too often children are given tasks to do without knowing why they do them nor how far they are successful. He found conscious failure tended to slow down action and that recognized success tended to hold effort at a maximum. Working with an older group, Thorndike¹⁵ made an extensive study of wants, interests, and attitudes, and their effect upon accomplishments. Some of his conclusions may be summed up as follows:

1. Wants, interests, and attitudes very definitely influence behavior, but the influence can be strengthened, weakened, or shifted by modifying the conditions under which they operate
2. Each want and attempt to realize it involves the inhibition of other wants. There is always a balancing of tendencies, and it takes very little to change the balance
3. The momentary situation determines the way a tendency will act rather than any predisposition
4. One tends to become indifferent to any oft-repeated stimuli, whether the first emotional attitude was favorable or otherwise
5. To change wants, interests, and attitudes, induce a person to make a desired response and reward it. Repetition and reward, within limits, are most effective
6. Punishment tends to affect most those who need it least. Timid, shy, and fearful persons are more inhibited, and aggressive persons are made defiant

Thorndike says that there are occasions when punishment may check a wrong attitude or behavior but that it will not thereby release the right kind of conduct. It

¹⁴ H. L. Anderson, "Motivation of Young Children," *Child Development*, VII (1936) 125-43.

¹⁵ E. L. Thorndike, *The Psychology of Wants, Interests and Attitudes* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1935).

may simply repress and irritate and cause another undesirable compensatory emotional reaction. If a child's social environment does not sufficiently reward a desirable attitude or action, to make it effective it may be necessary to reduce the attraction of an undesirable form by punishment, though it does not solve the whole problem. Thorndike feels that too much emphasis has been put upon the intrinsic character of rewards. He does not feel that extrinsic rewards are necessarily harmful. They may lead to appreciation of intrinsic values, and they build up larger associations of greater supporting values than any first inherent values could give.

These are interesting findings, for one of the most common tendencies of parents and teachers is to punish a child for failure. It may be by reproof, by deprivation of some privilege, by corporal reminder, or by some artificial exaction; but the reaction of the child is much the same in any case. Punishment may possibly help to check wrong conduct, but it does not encourage the right kind. Example, encouragement, and opportunity for happy practice of desirable forms are undoubtedly the best influences. Adults ignore the importance of a child's co-operative spirit and the deterrent effect of a wrong emotional set. Parents and teachers are often surprised to discover how eagerly a child gives himself to a task which he wants to do, and how attractive he becomes when he has a chance to exhibit friendliness, confidence, and the joy of success. It takes a good deal of patience and self-discipline to diagnose children's needs and to plan for their best personality outcomes. When a child does a wrong thing, or exhibits an undesirable spirit, an adult should not take it as a personal affront to his re-

spect or ability, nor should he allow himself to feel that it is necessary to get even with the child. If the situation can be reviewed dispassionately, without emotional tension on either side, the child is likely to show as much interest in correcting the fault as the adult. It is never as much what an adult can do for a child to make him be good as what a child is willing to do and sees the value of doing.

Too much attention, however, may be given to the matter of emotions. Though they are important and determine more actions than thought, the end point of education is to stimulate into as fruitful activity as possible that part of the anatomy which lies above the thalamus. In his book *The Thinking Machine* Herrick¹⁶ describes the provision for co-ordination of emotional reactions in the thalamus, or middle brain, but he reminds us that the cortex is supposed to regulate the thalamic controls. While all thinking will have affective coloring, and while emotions will serve to give personal significance to thought, the cortex must balance tendencies and outcomes and help to keep the end points clear. Children must feel the importance of holding impulses in check and find satisfaction in carrying projects through with carefully planned purpose and critically alert minds. There can be a real thrill in mastering problems by keen thinking and in discovering significant meanings by systematic application of thought. Children not only can experience a measure of this mental exhilaration but can find suggestive analogies in the use of controlled power in mechanical toys, in the familiar auto, or in some other

¹⁶ C. J. Herrick, *The Thinking Machine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 202.

understood mechanism, and graphically present their own intellectual powers to themselves. When a child visualizes a truth, he uses it more freely than when he only holds it in some verbal statement.

Another place where the intellect acts is in the "will to do." No longer do psychologists speak of the will as if it were a faculty with reserves of energy ready to be tapped, but they recognize an organization of the mind with a cumulative tendency set in certain directions. It means that ends have been chosen and that desires have organized about these objectives, so that when opposition is met an energetic attack is made, and the resources of the individual are marshaled for solving the problem. When a child is able to keep an end in view, to view his difficulties in the light of his resources, and to keep himself to an undertaking until it is successfully achieved, we speak of him as having a strong will. But wills vary with ends sought and with success experienced. It is very easy to rationalize on a situation and to find reason for a detour or compromise rather than a frontal attack. A stubborn, uncompromising will is a liability rather than an asset and is the mark of a weak or undisciplined mind. In a social world it is as important to know how and when to compromise as to be able to stand fast and not yield. The will to do needs socializing if it is to be an effective attitude. It should grow out of experiences which prove abilities, which give confidence in the solvability of most problems and satisfaction in solving them. Too many protected children develop a lazy disposition, an unwillingness to try hard things. Too many underprivileged children tend to feel a sense of inferiority and futility in the face of difficulties. With wise encouragement a per-

son of medium intelligence may prove the power of persistent effort, and a person of superior ability may undertake more significant problems. The will to do is the *sine qua non* to achievement.

The power of creative thought is seldom adequately understood or appreciated. But civilization's progress is due in large measure to the creative productions of men's minds. A comparative few give themselves to creative thought and to creative production of objects which will enrich the common life. The majority selfishly and ungratefully take advantage of what these fertile and inventive minds produce. One of the greatest needs of any generation is to stimulate children and growing youth wherever signs of superior intelligence or special abilities occur. Much of our educational program does not challenge them with problems on a par with their capacities. Instead of encouraging them to go beyond the minimum essentials and providing them with an enriching curriculum, we bore their alert minds with materials they can master without application. Few teachers seem to be able to do more than keep the mechanics of a classroom in operation. Few are able to inspire active minds with a love for knowledge and a keen desire to discover things for themselves. Few can give a child such an introduction to a field of study that he wants to go on when he has "passed" his course. But our civilization needs pioneering spirits, creative minds—persons tireless in significant tasks. If we are to develop leaders who will not be defenders of the *status quo*, or champions of a past golden age, we must open up new realms of life to children and cause them to dream dreams and long for utopias. Gifted children are able to see these visions, to put their ideals

in clearly stated principles and outlined programs, and to co-operate in concrete tasks. Even in the kindergarten, when a child shows an interest in going beyond routine or offers an idea for some new way of doing things that reveals a creative mind, he should be noted and encouraged. In the grades readings, assignments, exploration and creative responsibilities can be given to those who prove ready. Once children begin to feel the power of intellectual effort, taste the joy of creative production, and see visions of possibilities beyond the ordinary, they have released the most influential force for modifying existing conditions that can be found. Perhaps the first need is to find teachers who have a creative capacity, and who are keen to find kindred minds—persons of wide interests and broad humanitarian sympathy, persons of faith and persistent zeal.

One further step is necessary if the fullest effect of the growing powers is to be obtained. The three forces that we have discussed—physique, emotions, and intellect—must be unified and must work together though an integrated personality. Dominant interests and purposes must draw together separating tendencies, and progressive achievements must cause the individual to feel his worth and his possibilities. For many, life is frittered away in pursuit of little things which are not significant enough to discipline body, mind, and spirit for the attainment of a large purpose. The greatest ends are social—those which link an individual's interests to those of others, and in such pursuits the largest personalities have a chance to find their fullest realization. A beginning will be made as the young child learns to work happily with others and to share in tasks of common responsibility.

When a parent responds to "baby do" by giving the child a chance to share in some household task or attractive social project, the sense of values has a chance to begin. As the family takes an interest in civic, national, and international movements for human welfare, the child's horizon is widened and life has a larger significance. Home, school, church, and other community agencies should give him a feeling of co-operative power in working toward social ideals. In spite of discouraging and depressing facts, from which he should not be screened, he must gain a faith in himself, in others, and in the supporting character of the universe. His ideals and his reasons for faith must keep close to concrete situations and to the facts of history which support a progressive hope. Sacrifice and sustained effort are necessary to the realization of any ideal, and the child must early be expected to sacrifice for a group objective and to give himself unselfishly for a group responsibility. He must learn to control his own desires and to measure his own rights by keeping in mind the rights and desires of others. A child in a family of three children and two parents should not be able to take two cookies from a plate of seven without feeling or being made to feel uncomfortable. Social pressure must teach children the rights of others and compel adjustment where social desires are lacking.

In striving to realize ideals, a child will soon meet discouragement, and he must learn to deal with handicaps and barriers. He must first of all realize that his own attitudes make a big difference in any situation. If he is disagreeable, he alienates those who might work with him, and their reactions will make him more miserable. If he is friendly and considerate of others, he finds a more

ready response and co-operative interest, and the experience gives him encouragement and makes the task easier and more successful. As Kurt Lewin says, there is a circular causal reaction between an individual and his environment.¹⁷ Even in working with impersonal forces of his environment the child finds that, if he is psychologically set to make the best use of his resources, he will be more sensitive to what is available. When a child cannot do what he wishes and what he feels ought to be done, he must also learn to do what he can cheerfully and well. He cannot do many things and do them well, so he must learn to choose with discrimination between the opportunities which are presented to him. Once a choice is made, he must learn to find satisfaction in the thing he does and to forget the chance he had to let go. Parents and teachers can help the growing child to get this kind of perspective by repeatedly causing him to set up contrasts in ways of doing things and to see relative values in whatever is done.

No attempt has been made in the foregoing discussion to classify types of dynamic persons. It is interesting to list such adjectives as "vivacious," "explosive," "excitable," "irritable," "phlegmatic," "intellectual," etc., but they are not even definitive of types of behavior and, certainly, not of types of children. A child may be vivacious under some circumstances and in other situations be subdued and fearful. Another child may be explosive when restrained in certain desires and very phlegmatic in the ordinary course of events. While one or another type of behavior may tend to be dominant, it

¹⁷ *A Dynamic Theory of Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1935), p. 110.

may be due more to environing circumstances than to any constitutional peculiarity. Human nature is flexible; forces may be held in abeyance for special reasons; reserves of energy may be called forth because of particular interests; motives operate in complex relationships; it is impossible to put children in any fixed categories of dynamic types. Children are bundles of energy, and their conduct at any given time is but an index of the satisfactions or dissatisfactions they are finding in the given situation as they find it and can react to it.

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CHAPTER VI

PLAY AND PLAYMATES

A child spends most of his time in play, and when he plays throws more of himself into his activities than under any other conditions. Hence play is peculiarly revealing as to personality patterns and characteristics. Responses are made consciously and unconsciously, with more or less abandon; and, as the child loses himself in the game, his dominating tendencies and attitudes are made clear. Some play is so conventional and adult controlled that the child may only show a play role, inhibiting his true self-expression. It takes a consuming interest to call forth latent forces and to integrate the various partial selves. And, because a growing individual finds special satisfaction in expressing his fullest capacities, an educator is able to discover the possibilities of the unified personality by watching him in unrestrained play.

Activity is essential to life, and, from the random instinctive movements of the infant to the impulsive, slightly controlled behavior of the eleven-year-old, we find continual evidence of inner drives, urges to action, and delight in free play. When the interest sustains activities without reference to exterior rewards or goals, we have "play," but, when exterior forces control the activities and the motivating desires are not inherent, we have "work." The terms are not absolute differentiations, for attitudes shift so fast that what is play one moment may change to work the next. In general, we say that a child plays because he wants to and works

when he has to. If a child starts something because of some attractive interest in it, he will manifest the play spirit; but, if he finds it monotonous to continue or if something else diverts his interest, it may require hard work to finish what was begun in a real play spirit. Because values differ greatly with maturing experience, it is often impossible for an adult to understand the subtle factors which hold a child's attention in play. Unless he is overstimulated, he will tend to play at every opportunity and have unending fun in constantly changing forms. Overstimulated, as many American children are, a child may find it hard work to play, or will play with superficial, short-lived satisfaction. In a highly cultured environment it is difficult to strike a wholesome balance between the environing conditions which enrich his experiences and those which challenge him to creativity and adventure.

The first play satisfactions of a little child are simple and immediate—mere random movements. Every sense organ is ready for a new experience, every muscle is eager to experiment with the world of things. His primary responses are sensual, and organized meanings and purposes are secondary. As he grows, mentality develops, ends are set ahead, means are selected with greater care and precision, and play becomes more complex. Conflicting desires and promising alternatives multiply, and choices are imperative. The early abandon is gradually modified by the social necessity for inhibitions and balanced judgments. Play involves more and more issues, more and more aesthetic refinements. Even a baby finds his primitive play tendencies and intimate acquaintance with dirt curtailed by regulations of a cultured home, and

a ten- or eleven-year-old is continually worried by civilizing restrictions. In spite of ignorant adults, most children have a great deal of fun, and with wise and understanding guides their fun grows and increasingly satisfies their expanding personalities.

Because of the underlying characteristics of play—the most complete expression of child life—the educator must plan for the possible learnings at each stage of the maturing capacities. The values to be obtained from any activity are closely related to the interests and satisfactions derived, and therefore individual likes and dislikes have to be considered and tastes have to be developed. Those in charge of children's play probably get their best ideas as to the ways to make play count for character development by observing individual and group tendencies. Most important learnings will come as concomitants of well-planned and directed plays and games. But conscious attention will have to be given by the children to master weaknesses, gain self-control, and attain socially approvable qualities. These qualities are observable in others, identifiable in definite play adjustments, and are attained by both direct and indirect educational planning.

One needs to remember, when considering the peculiar values of play in personality growth, that life demands many things of growing persons without any concern as to whether the person likes them or not. A child has to learn to meet the compulsions of life cheerfully and skillfully. If he can take a large view of life and see the significance of obligations to the fullest realization of desires, it will cause him to transform them into wants which call forth the play spirit. Specific concrete inter-

relations may be seen by a little child more readily than by an older one, for less prejudices stand in the way. Up to five or six, children enjoy any simple play activity, and it is relatively easy to change an objectionable duty into a game. From seven or eight on, the child's attention is not so easily diverted, nor is he as easily satisfied by a game. Yet, in happy associations, any child will learn to conquer aversions and to share with an adult or other playmates in doing a given task wholeheartedly. The human has a surprising capacity for changing likes and dislikes, and, though it is always a good policy to start with existing interests and wants, there is no need to be limited by them. If new and outreaching desires are stimulated, the creative response will be enjoyed, and education will be kept at the growing point. Free play gives a child a chance to find himself, and to experiment with his resources; guided play enables him to find wider meanings, and to move into even more interesting areas of life. Required tasks evoke a conscious organization and self-discipline vital to success in the common duties and discouraging problems that ordinary experiences present. First satisfactions may be due to instinctive preferences, but with enlarging capacities satisfactions change and become the accompaniments of mental sets and flying goals. Life has more zest and buoyancy when the play spirit can operate, but even when duties drive there may be plenty of fun in solving problems and proving one's worth. Whether activities provide opportunities for pleasure or not, and whether or not he is ready for them so that he can transform them into desirable ones, the child must learn to conquer feelings, be sociable, and carry on until duties are done.

Most modern educators see no justification for making learning any more difficult or unattractive than it must be under normal conditions. Psychology has tested the old harsh discipline and has shown that it does not produce all that it was supposed to do and that it does cause some very unfavorable reactions. On the other hand, educators have swung back from the extreme of the "play school," where everything was play and compulsions were reduced to a minimum. Today they plan for both work and play, with an expectation of developing value in each. The child may fail to see the privileges of work programs and look for every possible escape from them, and sometimes both home and school protect him from the natural consequences of neglect. He needs, however, to find satisfaction in work well done and to enjoy the rhythm of work and play.

In any evaluation of the educative values of play one must remember the psychological principle that, to every form of expression, there is a corresponding repression. Every action is a product of conflicting forces, and those which are held in check are just as significant as those which are allowed to function. In an overt act we have an index to an operating influence, but it is often quite impossible adequately to diagnose the unseen conflicting influences. For instance, a child may have a fairly good idea of "fair play" and want to be "a good sport," but, if he is overinfluenced by the example of associates or by social expectancy, he may yield to some unfair practice and receive no credit for the worthy desire which was outweighed by the conditions in the particular situation. Again he may have developed some underhanded techniques and be eager to use them, but, if the social situa-

tion promises better results by open, honest play, he may hold his lower tendencies in check and act like an exemplary child. An educator must watch the incentives which appeal to children and help them to get wholesome attitudes in every testing occasion. It may become the mark of a good sport to resist unworthy social pressures, to see and choose between alternative procedures on the basis of the fairest deal to all. Many an adult coaching children's games forgets the character outcomes in the desire to achieve a success or make a record. Many kinds of conduct are winked at on the playground which would not be tolerated for a moment in the classroom. Most play guided by adults needs to be objectively evaluated and to be thoroughly described and analyzed so that the significance of attitudes and acts may be clearly seen and understood. Closer relation should be made between the formal school disciplines and the free play of individuals and groups. There is danger of a divided personality with certain social sensitivities and rules for one kind of a responsibility and quite opposing attitudes for another. Social capacity is, of course, only slowly attained. Stoddard and Wellman believe from their studies that preschool children show a greater need for play with materials than for play with one another.¹ Van Alstyne observed 112 children two to five years of age and found that 50 per cent of them tended to play by themselves when playing with materials and that they played with materials 98 per cent of the time.² The young child has

¹ G. D. Stoddard and B. L. Wellman, *Child Psychology* (New York: 1934), chap. xiii. By permission of the Macmillan Co., publishers.

² D. Van Alstyne, *Play Behavior and Choice of Play Material of Preschool Children* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. 275.

plenty of mental activity in carrying on his own project and finds playing with others more confusing and tiring than satisfying. Even as they grow older, there is a good deal of difference between children in their social tendencies and interests. The difference is not merely a matter of intelligence but is due to various factors. Lehman and Witty found that children of higher intelligence were slightly less active and slightly less social in their play, on the average, than children of average, or below average, intelligence.³ In their *Psychology of Play Activities* they state that a child's withdrawal to solitary play may be due to environmental situations, to illness or other handicaps, to avoid unpleasant social experiences or because competition is too keen. They conclude from their data that "it would be impossible to designate the play of any age level as primarily social or individualistic."⁴ In another study Dr. Witty gives further data to show that "non-social children are not inferior to moderately or extremely social children in the adjustments which they make to life situations. Indeed when other things are approximately equal . . . non-sociability is a salutary tendency. . . . Non-social children are not eccentric or queer."⁵

As children do play with others, they need guidance, for it is easy for young children to become exhausted and fretful. They may learn good adjustments or they may develop other techniques. One child may be aggressive,

³ H. C. Lehman and P. A. Witty, "A Study of Play in Relation to Intelligence," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XII (1928), 369-97.

⁴ *Psychology of Play Activities* (New York: Barnes & Co., 1927), p. 75.

⁵ *A Study of Deviates in Versatility and Sociability of Play Interests* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), p. 50.

perhaps domineering, and another will be continually on the defensive. Some get tired trying to keep up with others who are mentally or physically superior. Endless quarrelings are due in part to differences in capacity and in part to inability to keep in mind the rules of play. Adult supervision may help to reduce frictions and help the handicapped to enjoy their range of opportunities. Individuality should be respected, and children should not be forced to participate in group play when they are finding more satisfaction by themselves. There are other times for promoting sociability, and it is more important to create a social readiness than to compel social participation. There comes a period when they tire of playing by themselves and want to play with others, and, if social play is contagious, they will be caught up into the spirit of the game because of experienced satisfactions.

It is interesting that Witty discovers that younger children participate in a larger number of games and play activities than older children. He also finds that the correlation between mental age and number of social activities is negative ($-.22$, or, with C.A. constant, $-.145$). In a study of over six thousand children he found that the range of social activities running from 27 at seven and a half years of age to 21 at eleven and a half and 13 at sixteen and a half.⁶ One reason for this difference in number of activities is due to the growing capacity of children to hold their attention on any particular activity for a longer time and to find more interesting factors in any situation. Van Alstyne found the increase in span of attention increased nearly two minutes per year in a study of twelve play materials: at two years of age,

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

6.9 minutes; at three years, 8.9; at four years, 11.4; and at five years, 12.6.⁷ The motor impulses of younger children find satisfaction in almost any kind of physical activity, but the older child wants something that works toward a predetermined end. The older child, whether in individual or social play, is more selective in his play interests, and, as he develops certain skills, he tends to repeat those activities.

Dennis notes that children while playing vary considerably in their habits of talking. The two-year-old chatters away in a monologue; the three-year-old continues in monologue most of the time but talks to others more frequently, wanting their attention and interest; the four- and five-year-olds develop a fairly free conversation, and the older ones talk of anything and everything as they work.⁸ A parent will learn more of a child's interests, wants, likes and dislikes, attitudes, and habits by quietly listening as children play than in any other way. Up to twelve years of age children will talk freely, quite unconscious of an audience, if a parent moves about his work without paying more than casual attention to them. The exchange of ideas, sharing of points of view, and mental adjustments to one another are valuable socializing experiences for children. They stimulate one another quite differently from the way in which adults affect them, and make their responses more as a matter of course than as a matter of obligation to adults.

The relative places and values of free and supervised play need to be carefully considered. As has been noted,

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁸ G. A. Dennis, *The Social Nature of Children's Play* (M.A. Thesis, Department of Education, University of Chicago. 1930).

each individual must be treated according to his needs, maturity, and interests. Free play reveals many things that closely supervised play will never show. Latent tendencies come out which may be suppressed under adult control. On the other hand, certain resources are expressed only when encouraged and directed. At the earliest stage of free play the chief need seems to be to keep enough stimulating materials in sight to keep them busy, to protect them from physical injury, and to let them feel social security. As they grow older, they want ideas to enlarge their activities, assistance to do things they are not yet capable of doing alone, encouragement over difficult places, and recognition for accomplishments. Good supervision will permit children to get more out of their play, different meanings and happier reactions, than they would if left alone. If a leader talks over plans in advance of an activity period, stimulates creative ideas, anticipates some problems, develops working rules for beginning and for major undertakings, the children can move freely and do not lose sight of their objectives. A brief review of happenings, guidance in self-evaluation of achievements and failures, and the habit of subjecting individual action to group criticism will conserve and improve learnings. Traditions for refined forms of play need to be built up, and children enjoy a sense of mastery and superiority. They need to feel that just anything is not good enough but that there are inferior and superior ways of doing everything.

In some situations supervision is needed to protect younger and weaker children from older ones and from group cruelty. Timid and handicapped children may develop unfortunate attitudes, undesirable compensatory

habits, and possible strains unless wisely guided. The stronger ones also need to learn to consider others and to show friendliness without spoiling it by a patronizing attitude. It is strange how thoughtless of one another's feelings children can be. A group of children of varying ages start to play croquet. An eight-year-old says of a five-year-old trying to get into the game, "Do we want that young squirt in this game?" He had been edged out of games before by other older children, and now comes his time for superiority and he inflates his ego with the advantage. The younger children may not take such a remark seriously and may have no emotional resentment, but the eight-year-old has remembered his slight and compensates in a mean way. A supervisor may help children to adjust themselves to one another in a better spirit and with greater satisfaction because of the awakening of a bigger self. It is excellent experience for older children to supervise the play of younger children if coached by adults as to how to help them.

In some districts playground directors have a special responsibility to protect the equipment from careless use and despoilment. Some communities lack traditions of respect for property, and few children in such places have any sense of accountability for common property. Each seems to be struggling to get what he can without concern for the rights of others. The playground may be one of the best places to begin to develop some collective interests and to arouse a pride in common achievements and possessions. Instead of giving such a community a fully equipped playground and expensive equipment to be protected by police, children and parents should be organized to plan and work for community privileges and should be

taught how to manage their own affairs and to get the most out of them. Little children sometimes catch the spirit better than older ones whose attitudes have been more or less corrupted by circumstances tending to destroy faith in good will. The story of a vacation church-school project of thirty-six boys and girls ranging from the fourth to ninth grades illustrates how youngsters may be enlisted in a piece of community work that an older group would not undertake and how their achievements developed a fine civic pride and sense of collective ownership that nothing else could have done.⁹

It is easy for adults to misunderstand the needs of children and to block their best interests by well-meant supervision. In her study of the game preferences of ten thousand fourth-grade children, Norma Schwenderer found that many of the games taught children failed to arouse their interest or to give satisfaction. Of the three hundred games listed for children of this age by professional children's workers, only about a dozen were mentioned by the ten thousand children in their preferred choices. Whatever educators might think was good for them, they liked a few games providing plenty of bodily activity and vigorous competition. Few sex differences were found but much similarity in fourth-grade game preferences prevailed throughout the country at large. One little girl expressed her rebellion against too much supervision when she said, "Isn't it too bad that all the things I like aren't good for me."¹⁰ It is easy to make de-

⁹ T. J. Burdick and J. Gifford, *Making a Better Neighborhood* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1936).

¹⁰ N. Schwenderer, *Game Preferences of 10,000 Fourth Grade Children* (Ph.D. Thesis, Columbia University, 1932).

cisions and set rules, but educators know very little from either observation or experimental study about what is best in play.

Children do not like too much regimentation in play time. Most of their time and activities at home and at school are routinized, and they want a chance to do as they please. They know they will often act foolishly and make mistakes, but they are willing to pay the cost of freedom. If they are not allowed to exercise self-control, to make choices, and to correct their own mistakes, they do not know how to act when freedom and responsibility do come. The contrast between the behavior of children in Sunday school and public school is but one illustration of the failure of the military public school system to prepare them for self-direction and self-control. In the church, where we might expect attitudes of reverence and quiet reserve, we often have rowdyism and foolish disorder. This is partly due to the lack of an interesting and regular program in the church school but also to the fact that rigid discipline is relaxed. Children need more freedom under guidance to prepare for responsibilities in unregimented situations. It can only be given gradually as they prove capable of using it, but they will learn by being allowed to choose and to undertake projects where a minimum of supervision is imposed.

Some schools provide hobby rooms with books, pictures, puzzles, games, and other play materials. Children are sent to these rooms when they show fatigue or when the teacher feels the child needs to recover poise and emotional balance by being alone. Sometimes, instead of a gymnasium period with formal exercises, certain children are given opportunity to play quietly by themselves

or with a chum in these hobby rooms. A wise leader is in charge of the room and knows how to deal with restlessness and irritability. Homes need places of this kind, and from their earliest years children should expect to be sent to such a room, not as a punishment but to gain control of themselves and to be able to live happily with others. Too many children live in crowded quarters, with little chance for quietness or privacy, at home, on the street, and at school. Nearly everywhere they are subject to social pressure, irritating noises, and compulsory adjustments. Some are sensitive, worried by everything; others are easy-going, treating things casually and indifferently.

As soon as children are old enough to manage themselves with some skill, they are bombarded with the stimuli of competition. Perhaps the child should be guarded against it up to at least seven years of age. After that a healthy, vigorous child will enjoy a certain amount of it and will learn a good deal by the experiences. However, to the degree that a child is handicapped physically or mentally and has to match himself against superior strength or skills, he will either be discouraged and assume a submissive attitude or he will seek some antisocial compensatory satisfaction. If strength can be matched against strength and skill against skill, on a basis of equality and in good-natured play, competition serves to help a child find his own worth. But it is always subject to dangers, for it is a primitive test and not a proof of social or cultural attainment. In the struggle to outrank someone else it is difficult to respect the other's rights or to be generous toward him. The winner may feel elated and superior, but the loser is likely to be deflated and apologetic. Co-operative forms of play call for higher qualities

of personality, finer types of adjustment, more self-control, and more creative ingenuity. Different motives operate, and mutual respect and consideration may function without fear of losing advantage. The whole personality can be thrown into co-operative play, while in competition the child is divided, the social spirit being held in abeyance. In co-operation, rules of play are a means of advancing common gains, while, in competition, rules are conditions to impose upon the other and to be evaded as far as possible by one's self. Competition is easier to stimulate, but co-operation is a more significant achievement. Self-interest and group interest are identified, and the expansion of personality is thereby increased.

It is one thing to plan a competitive meet, with races, contests, and prizes, and quite another task to prepare for an outing with a group of boys, where they share in the plans, each accepting responsibility, and the whole is a co-operative venture in a democratic enterprise. Boys will have a good time in either or both, but the outcomes are likely to be much different. Competition may develop fighting rules, but co-operation prepares for steadier and happier progress. It is hard to keep the animal spirits in check when the pressure of the whole environment is to make one strive to win, and it is not surprising that a good deal of unfair play results. Some coaches laugh at the idea of being friendly and considerate for a competitor and use the jungle slogan "the survival of the fittest." Young lads are quickly stirred by that kind of talk if they are strong and able to win, but for the majority such attitudes are discouraging and depressing.

One common reason for separating boys and girls in games is the undesirability of bringing them into competi-

tive struggles where the weaker ones may be humiliated. A girl nine to eleven likes to be beaten by a boy no more than a boy of this age likes to be beaten by a girl. Sometimes these ambitious youngsters strain themselves too much in a desire to gain a victory over an opponent. Reduce the incentives to win and introduce possible goals in co-operation, and the fun can be increased for all. If any competition is to be kept in athletics, it might be done by seeking to improve individual records after a physical examination has equated capacities and skills and marked desirable degrees of improvement. Even then children would be likely to boast their superiorities and to misrepresent their gains. A common defense of competitive games is that life is full of competition, and children must learn to be good sports in a competitive world. Most of our social evils today are due to the fact that man has risen so slowly above the animal level of existence, and instead of perpetuating our shortcomings we need to develop skills in co-operative relations.

Among the forms of play indulged in by children, perhaps none gives more varied kinds of satisfaction than dramatization. Children will dramatize almost any kind of human activity with pleasure. At seventeen and one-half months a little girl was watched pouring imaginary milk into an imaginary cup, drinking it with satisfaction, and serving her dolly. Miss Seis reports 54 different dramatizations by a two-and-a-half-year-old in one day.¹¹ The most familiar things are taken by children and re-enacted with delight. They play by themselves, they invite others to play with them, and they seek an audience

¹¹ A. C. Seis, *Spontaneous and Supervised Play in Childhood* (New York: Macmillan, 1922), p. 28.

to share their fun. They like to dress up and assume roles of other persons; they like to manipulate objects and to do things out of the ordinary. At first their acting is simple, naïve, and unrefined. By ten or eleven they give attention to details and seek to get planned effects by settings and actings. Children will prepare for hours for a show which will take only a moment to present, but they are satisfied if they have an appreciative audience, for it is but a climax to the joy of getting ready to "show."

One particularly interesting form of dramatic play is that of the child with an imaginary playmate. Some classic stories of children doing this have been written, like *Unamary*,¹² and Terman says in his *Studies of Genius*, "It is probable that a large proportion of the gifted children have had imaginary playmates."¹³ But all children are likely to play this way occasionally when they are small. Some enjoy it so much that they repeat it regularly and keep up the imaginative play for a long time. A little girl of two and one-half years, an only child, became acquainted with another child slightly older whose deportment and name appealed to her. She would play for hours with the new friend, Dorothy Ann, but, when the real child came to visit, she was shy and unready to do anything with her. It seems as if this imaginative play is more characteristic of an only child, or one with few playmates, and in sometimes quite beneficial in helping to organize a child's attitudes and habits of doing things.

When a child becomes old enough to toddle around outside, he soon shares life with the other children of the

¹² Una Hunt, *Unamary* (New York: Scribner's, 1914).

¹³ L. M. Terman, *Studies of Genius* (Stanford University Press, 1925), I, 435.

neighborhood. If he is fortunate, he plays with those whose parents have high ideals and who exercise a wise discipline and training upon them. Usually it is a mixed group with whom he must learn to get along the best he can. The range soon widens as the child grows older, and in a city one may not even know the families of a child's intimate associates. It is difficult to supervise a child in the home and much more so in a neighborhood. Where common interests and responsibilities are recognized, parents may help one another and develop an atmosphere and expectancy that is invaluable. A home working alone cannot hope to control many forces, but, with mutual understandings and intelligent goals, co-operative undertakings may solve many problems.

City streets do not provide a suitable place for little children and are not much better for older ones. The children become dirty, they are subject to the hazards of passing vehicles, and they are always infringing upon private property. A group of homes with some play space can join in providing play equipment and change of scenery far more adequate than any single home could provide. In one city street a few families work together—one yard has a ladder and turning bars, a swing and other climbing apparatus; another has a slide, a teeter, and a playhouse; a third has a sand pit, a jungle gym, and a swing; while a fourth has a good lawn, play space, and a croquet set. The children are free to come and go as they wish, and it is interesting to see them migrate from one place to another, then divide up and later get together. Sometimes three or four children, sometimes eight or ten, are playing, and the parents take responsibility for supervising them as need arises and as time permits. In such

a situation the attitude of each child to the others is exceptionally good, for it reflects the co-operative spirit of the parents and neighborhood.

In play groups anything is likely to happen or to be said. Children talk as they play and share experiences without reserve. They assert themselves, quarrel, have accidents, try experiments, and often dramatize bits of home, school, or community life. In this exchange of experiences little children discover different social techniques, new language expressions, and all kinds of information and skills. In some districts the general average of cultural learnings is high, and children show good social habits and attitudes; but in other districts the influences are demoralizing. Studies of delinquency areas show that children pick up, at a very early age, language, habits, and attitudes that are perversions of everything that is decent. They are taught by other playmates and by older ones who exploit their innocence. The range of influences on a child from his playmates is from one extreme of the social and moral scale to the other.

In school play there is constant need of watching the attitudes, habits, and language of children. One lad with good play habits and a healthy moral tone can set the standards of the whole school grounds; another can bully the younger ones and set a bad example of word and action that spreads widely. One debased mind and foul mouth can smudge the minds and imaginations of a large group. With tactful supervision individual cases of delinquency can be handled, but many times it means that a delinquent with an unfortunate home background has to be removed. The school morale can be built up best by the co-operation of parents and neighborhood homes. A

high expectancy develops a corresponding response, and traditions are carried forward from one generation to another. There is no natural harmony among normal children, and conflicts are bound to come; but in a healthy atmosphere children discipline and help one another as much or more than adults can. Good patterns and fine social attitudes sometimes begin in the classroom and in the general administration but often have their happiest settings in the school-ground play and in school clubs and play groups. In one school the greatest influence seemed to be the junior band, whose leader radiated a distinct influence over all.

Up to twelve, fabricated play groups with artificially organized programs do not seem necessary or valuable for most neighborhoods. The free play groups that spring up among children of the same age, to play ball or other games, seem to meet ordinary needs. In some crowded areas of large cities, where play space is at a premium and where variety of equipment is scarce, special provision should be made to supplement the ordinary home and school opportunities. In most communities the best plan for children up to adolescence seems to be to have supervised play on the school grounds or in near-by parks, or in closed sections of streets. Churches and other volunteer agencies often try to do something special for eleven-year-olds, but it is difficult to get homogeneous play groups and adequate leadership. In most cases it would probably be better to help parents and school officials to enrich their programs and play opportunities. Anything else adds but a loose appendage. Wisely supervised school and neighborhood clubs of informal character with varied programs may do as much as any-

thing to integrate the play experiences and attitudes. Where churches are community centers there is the possibility of an idealistic and unifying influence operating in groups of preadolescents as well as among younger children.

One cannot approve or condemn in any general fashion the work of such preadolescent organizations as the Cubs¹⁴ or Friendly Indians.¹⁵ In some places they meet a definite need and in other situations they prove to be of only passing interest. The greatest shortcoming is probably the lack of creative play projects related to the ordinary life of the child. The necessity for standardization and management from a national overhead organization tends to build a stereotype that has little flexibility in operation. The program may have an alluring dress (Indian or primitive style) but there is little to stimulate continuing interests. The major success of any agency of this type depends upon the leader. If he or she knows children, has a clear philosophy of play, and is able to use suggested programs instead of being bound by them, a group of children may benefit largely under such leadership. In some neighborhoods these organizations may provide the main uplifting influence for many children whom churches do not touch, and where homes and schools are badly handicapped by social and economic conditions. There is a danger of crowding into places where privileges are already more than children can profit from, but where some zealous adult likes the picturesque

¹⁴ *The Cubs: The Younger Boy Program* (Boy Scouts of America, 2 Park Avenue, New York).

¹⁵ *The Friendly Indians* (National Y.M.C.A., 347 Madison Avenue, New York).

program and wants to shepherd a group. Children sometimes need to be protected from shepherds.

For the fullest development of play opportunities and for distribution of facilities and leadership in a community there is need for more than chance organization. Responsibility for housing conditions, for play space in every part of a community, and for the supervision of commercialized amusements must be assumed by community officials. The day is past for play to be thought of as merely something to keep youngsters out of mischief. Play conditions determine the character of the oncoming generation of citizens as much as classroom training.

It is not enough to boast that the United States spent \$41,864,630 in one year for recreation and that five million different children used the public playgrounds. There are many places where the majority of space is given to golf courses, or to parks where children cannot play freely, and where the chief expenditures are for adults. Millions of children can use a public park or playground only a few times a year, and in districts where the need is greatest the facilities are usually the fewest and poorest. It is encouraging, however, that agencies such as the National Recreation Association are educating the public and that thousands of people are being trained each year for leadership of children's play.¹⁶ Schools are spending a large amount for physical examinations and health programs, and in some places psychological clinics are aiding in conduct diagnoses. Well-planned play and recreational opportunities may help to solve many individual problems and prevent many others from occurring. Play leaders

¹⁶ *Recreation* (National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York), May, 1935 (statistics for 1934).

and directors of music, art, and other cultural courses need to think in terms of the fundamental laws of character and personality growth and to have an interest in, and responsibility for, these outcomes.

In planning for the community contribution to play experiences, care must be taken that the line of least resistance is not followed. It is much easier and cheaper to provide entertainment for masses of children than to provide opportunity and supervision for creative forms, remedial needs, and cultural refinements in play. It is not so much what a community does for children as what it permits and encourages children to do for themselves. Children may show a keen interest in puppet shows, but the older ones who make them and operate them get more out of the experience than the children who witness them. Children like movies and some concerts but it is easy to develop desires to see and hear things just to put in time and to fail to inspire children to use their talents, explore life for themselves, and find satisfaction in creative expression and co-operative activities.

Libraries have been one of the most valuable assets in many communities for children's recreation. Some librarians have a singular interest in children, making books attractive for beginners, holding story hours to widen and improve interests and tastes, and giving individual guidance to children in selection of reading. More and more, children's books are being published, and larger allowances are needed to keep library shelves stocked with a wide variety of children's classics and modern productions. A number of studies have been made of children's reading, of interests, of reading habits, of reading difficulties, of character values, of age-grade types, and other

factors. Children should not have to choose blindly, or follow the lead of some favorite. They can be guided so that reading is both fascinating and educative. To do this, however, there must be closer co-operation among teachers of English, parents, and librarians, as well as better understanding of children's interests and needs by writers and publishers of juvenile literature.

Several investigations in the last few years have attempted to discover the effect of movies, the radio, and "funnies" (newspaper comics) upon the attitudes and habits of children. Unfortunately more data have been secured from adolescents than from younger children, and in some cases figures have been put together for "children" who range from the fourth to the twelfth grade. The Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations estimated the number of persons under fourteen attending the movies in the United States in 1934 to be about 11,000,000.¹⁷ In a limited study of two grade schools in Chicago (Grades V-VIII) nearly 70 per cent of the boys and 65 per cent of the girls said they went to movies once or twice a week.¹⁸ In the Payne Foundation studies—the most thorough general study on movies—Dr. Blumer asked two hundred boys under twelve years of age (range not given) if they played the things seen in the movies. Seventy-five per cent said that they did, and these were from a school in a slum area where the type of pictures tend to be more thrilling than cultural.¹⁹ One

¹⁷ "Children at the Movies" (editorial), *School and Society*, June, 1935.

¹⁸ A. M. Mitchell, *Children and Movies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 78.

¹⁹ H. Blumer, *Movies and Conduct* ("Payne Foundation Studies") (New York: Macmillan 1933), p. 20.

significant conclusion of Mrs. Mitchell is that young children do not go to movies as a first choice for fun. They go for something to do and because others go, but they say that they would prefer active games. Many neighborhoods where the percentage of child attendance is large, and might be larger but for the economic factor, the outside play opportunities are undesirable, and so the lure of the movies is stronger.

As to the actual effect of the movies upon children under twelve, we know very little. That they do not see the sordid meanings or lustful significance of much that stirs adult emotions is undoubtedly true, but the cumulative effect is not good. There is so much that is artificial, affected, debased, and purposeless that the child's finer sensitivities tend to be blurred and standards of good taste confused. Though a child may be amused, it is no reason for filling him with such pellagrin diet. If children are given plenty of healthy play activities, they are not eager to go to any but exceptional movies. They enjoy a good picture, and, when seen, it should be reviewed by home or school and the worth-while parts fixed in the memory. Children hear and see so much that they give only superficial attention and miss the real cultural values which should be conserved to enrich imagination, thought, and conversation. Similar conclusions might be made regarding the radio and newspaper comics. The effect of any single program or picture may be slight, but the question is as to the cumulative result in the attitudes, interests, and working philosophy of these growing persons. Vulgar phrases, coarse unsocial behaviors, and cheap standards of taste are likely to color the conduct of

those who depend upon the chance programs and pictures of the movie, radio, and newspaper funnies.

In conclusion we may state that the kinds of play in which a child engages and finds his main satisfactions are fair measures of his personality and character growth. His expanding social interests are seen as he moves from his solo play as an infant into occasional happy relations with another his own age, to informal play-group activities, to larger free-play interrelations, to organized team and planned group programs. His mental ability slowly matures and may be seen in the span of attention, in the variety of interests, in the quickness of response to changing situations, and in the solution of problems that arise in the course of play. His self-control improves in several ways: in the co-ordination of physical movements, in the reduction of merely impulsive responses, in the inhibition of emotional excitations, in the consideration given to other's rights and wishes, and in the exercise of his own privileges and desires. His general maturity shows a steady advance as he moves from the level of merely animal activity and sensual satisfaction to the stage of self-conscious interest and meaningful choice of activities, the appreciation of mutual relations and possibilities in social play, the creation of play forms and projects, the recognition of values in rules, ability to adjust social relations happily, and the enjoyment of various cultural and artistic recreational opportunities. Play is the free expression of individual and group attainments in each stage of maturation, motivated by the inner urge to realize the full joy of living.

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CHAPTER VII

HOME INFLUENCES

[The Hoover survey of social trends indicates that the most important contribution of the family to society is in its personality functions.] Though society may organize itself to care collectively for many of the former responsibilities of the family, economic, vocational, educational, and religious, it seems unlikely that it can ever supplant the intimate interaction of persons furnished by a well-established family. The protection, individual care, and continuous sympathetic influence of members of the home shape the plastic nature of the growing child. In a good home he gets a healthy start in life, physically, mentally, and spiritually. But homes vary, and even in the best the handicaps and complicating factors which beset everyday experience prevent the realization of ideals. Home life is changing, and intelligent parents are seeking guidance and co-operative support in this important but difficult task of making a satisfactory environment for growing children.

Those who look forward to the adventure of parenthood will carefully consider the hereditary influences in mating, the physiological and psychological facts of sex relationships, the environmental conditions for a home, and the economic and cultural factors essential to the adequate care of children. When more than sentiment controls the mating choice, and more than impulse de-

¹ *Recent Social Trends* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933), Vol. I, chap. xiii, W. F. Ogburn, "The Family and Its Functions."

termines the time when children will be born, there will be a happier expectancy in their coming. Eugenics and eugenics contribute much to the knowledge and attitudes of society in regard to marriage and family affairs. Many young people are inhibited by a sense of the responsibilities and hazards involved, while others plunge recklessly into the bonds of matrimony and the experiences of parenthood. There is need for an intermediate attitude that will preserve the emotional thrills and yet make the adventure something more than a blind following of physical impulses and unrestrained imagination.

[A child's welcome by its parents is subject to many conditioning factors. If the couple are well mated, young and strong, have a fair economic security, and are studying the best literature on homemaking and child-raising they will anticipate the birth of a babe with joy. A child gives a large stimulus to the personalities of its parents, and several children give them scope for all their talents and resources. If they are not well mated physically, temperamentally, socially, or otherwise, and have continual conflicts, one of them may regard the coming child as a compensatory hope, while the other may feel his coming as an added problem. When the financial situation is such that every expense is a burden, the child's welcome may be overshadowed by fear and mixed feelings of elation and depression. Should he be born handicapped physically or mentally, bitter disappointment may be tempered by tender sympathy; the child comes into a world that has little consideration for handicaps, and the parents require a rare combination of patience and wisdom.]

The first child is likely to receive more attention, and cause more worry, than those who come later. In a well-regulated family only as many will be born as the parents can give welcome and make adequate provision for without undue strain and worry. No parents can expect to find unmixed pleasure in children, and with each additional child problems multiply. Yet each in a peculiar way brings his own welcome. The helpless infant calls forth from the parents love and tenderness, and his satisfied responses, interesting behavior, and growing capacities are an endless delight. [Where home conditions are at all satisfactory, the intimate interactions with children give enjoyments that childless couples can never appreciate.] There are always unpredictable and modifying influences which may add to or subtract from the fullest pleasures of a family, but intelligent parents may anticipate and control many factors which would otherwise upset the happiest relationships for all. As the family binds to it other persons and families who can share interests and responsibilities, the sense of security and the expanding possibilities of each person may be better realized.

The census of 1930 showed an average of 401 persons to every 100 families.² The range is wide, but the average home has two children. While there is not any fixed relationship between size of family and personality characteristics, [investigations have shown some interesting correlations between the number in the home and such personality traits as sociability, adjustability, independence, responsibility, initiative, and economic attitude.] Case studies of individual children reveal problems

² *Ibid.*, pp. 681 and 682.

which might have been avoided if the child had experienced the ordinary give and take of adjustments with other children. [Children who are one or two years apart have more common interests and get along better than when separated by greater differences in age] But innate differences in temperament, mental capacities, health, and other characteristics cause children to react differently to situations. [Dispositional tendencies reflect the atmosphere of the home and the continual interplay of members of the family and are colored by adjustments to the dominating influences]

As children mature socially there is a marked difference in the way in which they adjust themselves to one another, to their parents, and to persons outside the home. The young child has only a casual concern for what others think of him or what he does, but before twelve years of age he may have acquired quite a serious regard for the opinions of others, and he may be much worried by the behavior of his brothers and sisters. Perhaps girls develop this social sensitivity earlier than boys, but the attitude of older persons in the home or of intimate friends may affect this attitude. (Relatives in the home are always a complicating factor, and the 1930 census shows an average of 33 relatives in every 100 families.³ It is hard enough to adjust one's self to two parents, who are distinct personalities, without having the opinions and interests of another adult to weigh in each situation. The total result of interplay with other persons in the home modifies innate tendencies, giving outlet to some and causing others to be inhibited, so that in the process

³ *Ibid.*

flexibility and sociability, vital to all satisfactory adjustments, are furthered.

[T]he economic conditions are important in the expansion or repression of a child's life, and the unequal distribution of wealth is a constant problem for educators. It is one thing to work out a minimum budget for a decent American standard of living, and another to provide opportunities for people to obtain or even to hope for it. The depression beginning in 1929 has intensified the problems, but in the high years of prosperity the White House Conference reports show that millions found a wide gap between family finances and their minimum needs. For the year 1927 the average income of wage workers in the United States was \$1,205 and for farmers \$1,006, these two classes making up 73 per cent of the gainfully employed population. The budgets for a family of four, with any cultural privileges ran from \$1,700 up, and yet many were realizing less than \$1,000 a year.⁴ Inadequate income threatens the health of the child at birth, denies his mother proper medical attention and postnatal care, keeps him from stimulating privileges in his home and neighborhood, and puts a feeling of insecurity, injustice, and hopelessness into all his reactions. In 1929 the income-tax returns showed only 2 per cent having incomes over \$5,000 and indicated that 38 per cent received less than \$1,000.⁵ Few who have an income of \$5,000 feel that they have sufficient for the advantages desirable for their children, and those who receive much less are limited and restrained in every ambition. Today, when millions of

⁴ *White House Conference on Child Health and Protection*, Vol. III: *The Home and the Child* (New York: Century Co., 1931).

⁵ *Ibid.*

children are dependent upon public relief for existence, the condition is sadly worse. A great host of American children are growing up without the minimum essentials for healthy, vigorous growth and with a tragic psychological handicap. Only a small percentage of children can begin life with a confident, unworried attitude and can grow up with expanding expectancies which make the struggle to attain worth while. A large majority are beset with fears, apologizing for existence, feeling constantly strain, fear, and defensive irritability, and some with a hopeless resignation ready to let happen what will.

[Closely related to the economic problem is that of housing and neighborhood conditions. Most houses are not planned for children, and most neighborhoods are not planned, either for children or for adults. It means much to a child to have social status by reason of a good home and respectable neighborhood. It is demoralizing to have to apologize for, and to accept as inescapable, a poor home and surroundings. But the control of such matters is more than two persons can hope to manage. Some may be privileged because of inheritance, luck, selfish manipulation of economic conditions, or hard work and thrift, but the right to a decent home and attractive surroundings should be the heritage of every child in this country.

It is a distinct step in advance when a government authorizes a study of the White House Conference type and circulates its findings widely. Facts help to mold opinions and to create expectancies. The chapters on housing and furnishing are suggestive of things which might aid greatly in a child's welfare. While the standards sound almost utopian, they are not unreasonable in a country of such tremendous resources as America. Only

a few excerpts can be used to illustrate the recommendations of the experts who made this study on housing:

1. *Neighborhood*.—Neighborhoods should have charm and distinction and be free from ugliness, monotony, and conditions which tend to depress or to humiliate a family
2. *House lot*.—Lots should be wide enough so that each room has sufficient light from open spaces on its own lot. There should be direct sunshine at some time each day, in each room, throughout the year
3. *House exterior*.—Ugliness, excessive ornamentation, and unpleasant color combinations should be avoided. Houses should be kept in good repair in all their parts
4. *House interior*.—Rooms should be generous in size, large enough not only to accommodate the furniture but also to give a sense of space. Some place should be provided as a playroom for children. There should be adequate provision for privacy for each member of the family
5. *Fundamental equipment*.—Modern sanitary plumbing fixtures, noiseless, easily cleaned, and vented should be provided. Artificial lighting should not cause any eyestrain
6. *Furnishings*.—Selection of the furnishings and equipment should be for durability and attractiveness, as well as for comfort and convenience. Play equipment is essential for normal child development⁶

A child should be proud of his home and feel that he has a distinct part and place in it. He should feel that it can grow in attractiveness and usability, and he should increasingly share in making it do so. To give him opportunity to help choose the furnishings and equipment is an educative and happy experience. Definite training is necessary to develop good taste and to promote an effective co-operation in keeping everything attractive. With care and planning children will learn how to buy economically and to make the best of what they are able to purchase

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

without financial strain. The home should be as permanent as possible, and the neighborhood a stable, homogeneous one in which neighborly common interests can be developed. Children belong to a community as well as to a home, and the community should have a sense of its responsibility and opportunity. The character of a home and of a neighborhood determines to a large degree the character of the children in them.

One of the most striking revelations as to what a neighborhood may do to human nature is given in the studies of Clifford R. Shaw, published in *Delinquency Areas*.⁷ His case histories, maps, and statistics are unforgettable. Two quotations are all that can be given here.

The truancy map of Chicago is divided into nine zones, concentric circles of an increasing one-mile radius, starting at the Loop business district. The percentage of children dealt with by the Juvenile Court in the respective areas, beginning at the center and moving out to the residential suburban sections, are: Zone I—12.4; II—7; III—6.6; IV—3.8; V—2.8; VI—1.5; VII—1.2; VIII—1.5; and IX—1.3. The percentage of boys dealt with by the Juvenile Court in the same period (1917-27) to the total male population ten to sixteen years of age was: Zone I—20.9; II—10.7; III—11.9; IV—8.1; V—5.6; VI—3.1; VII—1.7; VIII—2.1; and IX—2.3. While the forms of delinquency vary in different areas, it is quite evident that the highest rates are adjacent to industrial and business areas, where human life is secondary to profit. Thrasher's study of 1,313 gangs in the interstitial sections of Chicago showed the same lamentable condition.⁸ Residential

⁷ Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 51 and 64.

⁸ F. M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).

areas also vary, but, where there is more stability and a larger number of constructive forces and where children can find legitimate satisfactions, the rate of delinquency diminishes. Cases of delinquency are likely to be found anywhere; but in reading the life-histories of some of these unfortunate youngsters, one is convinced that some are damned before they are born. Studies of the changing racial groups in the delinquency areas indicate that certain communities show the same conditions irrespective of the particular nationality or race that dwell there. Customs and traditions are passed on in the struggle to live, many of them antisocial. In some districts to be caught stealing is more of a disgrace than to have a habit of stealing. The latter is taken for granted, and techniques are shared by children as they boast of their exploits in their play. A gang often helps the individual to have a good time and to get what he wants.

One of the tragic corollaries of our mechanistic age is the herding of people together in crowded towns and cities. The individual person and the individual family are lost in the mass of humanity congregated about a commercial or industrial center. Some live in luxurious apartments and some in poverty-stricken slums, but privacy, quietness, and individuality are at a premium in either place. The apartment dwellers in the more well-to-do sections want more than they can afford and so have to be content to live crowded with others. The wages of slum dwellers are so low, and their income so uncertain, that they live where they feel they have a chance to eke out an existence. The impersonal corporation makes money for stockholders; grafters, racketeers, and dishonest politicians bleed the unprotected and block every

attempt to improve their conditions. It is interesting that both depressions and reform movements point to the necessity of reorganizing society so that people may live together in smaller units, where more personal concern of each for the other is possible, where each family may have a house and garden, and where the individual and his rights will not be lost in the crowd. In a crowded city children have little to do about the home that is creative, or contributory to the family welfare, unless it is sweatshop work. In the country a child has chores, room to experiment and to explore without infringing on the property of others, and no fear of a policeman or hostile gang. City homes are seldom built to encourage a boy or girl to have hobbies, to collect things, and to make things of his own. Our modern inventions, labor-saving devices, means of communication, and quick transportation make it possible to build homes and communities which would allow all to have healthy, attractive, and well-equipped living quarters and to have room enough to respect personality values.

“Homes differ not only in economic resources but also in cultural and aesthetic tastes and privileges. It is not money which makes a home refined, or its traditions and practices of the more elevating type. Taste and discrimination in interests, in possessions, and activities are by-products of education, critical thinking, and wide acquaintance with different kinds of social living. Sometimes one parent is boorish and the other has a rare delicacy in choice and manner. Sometimes both parents are sensitive to the best values and have visions of possibilities for an attractive home and are continually working toward that end. Some are creative and some are only imitative, but credit

should be given where any effort is made to give charm and distinctiveness to a home. Children tend to reflect the customary attitudes and to find satisfaction in whatever becomes familiar; but, as they become older, the influence of other homes and standards will make them critical or appreciative.

Parental dispositions mean much more than good taste in the leadership of children. But dispositions are not separate from cultural habits and the regular adjustments of a well-organized home. It is much easier to maintain cheerfulness and an even, quiet reserve if one's surroundings are sunny, colorful, orderly, and of such kind that one may rightly be proud of them. To live in a dark, untidy tenement, where dirt and disagreeable smells prevail and where even the stability of that shelter is uncertain, is to invite a gloomy, morbid, careless response in young and old. [Habits, attitudes, and temperamental or dispositional tendencies are continually and unconsciously affected by direct action of one's surroundings on one and by the attitudes which others take toward them.] It is possible to rise above one's external circumstances, and many do by developing a philosophy of values which transcend things. Children are fortunate who get this invincible spirit as a part of their first outlook on life. Yet the struggle against an ever discouraging set of conditions may breed many undesirable qualities as well as aggressiveness and restless ambition.

Sometimes parents are so anxious about etiquette and refined practices of behavior that the very pressure and constant nagging become an inhibiting irritation rather than encouraging stimuli. It is hard for an adult to be firm and patient, holding expectancies within the range

of maturation. The finest qualities and the most significant characteristics in growing children come as a by-product of living under favorable conditions.

The findings of Hartshorne and May in their "Studies in the Nature of Character"⁹ are a challenge to parents, for they show that homes have more moral influence upon children than either the public school or church, being the outstanding source of knowledge of right and wrong. In tests of moral knowledge of children as compared with parents and other leaders, the following correlations are significant: Scores of children with those of parents, $r = .545 \pm .023$; with those of friends, $.353 \pm .018$; club leaders, $.137 \pm .047$; public-school teachers, $.060 \pm .025$; and Sunday-school teachers, $.002 \pm .048$.¹⁰ The small, intimate home groupings and friendships afford the closest resemblances. Yet, when detailed results of testing are examined, we find that the majority of homes have not prepared children adequately for the testing life-situations of everyday occurrence. The correlation between deception and home background, intelligence held constant, for an unselected population is estimated at about $-.30$. In a test taken home it was found that children from the most favored homes cheated as much and as little as children from poorer homes. One case is given of a child whose home background was most unfortunate, and of whose classmates 60 per cent or more cheated, and yet she did not cheat.¹¹ There are many exceptions

⁹ Three vols.; *Studies in Deceit*, *Studies in Service and Self-Control*, and *Studies in the Organisation of Character* (1928-30). By permission of the Macmillan Co., publishers.

¹⁰ *Studies in Organisation of Character*, p. 98.

¹¹ *Studies in Deceit*, p. 220.

of this kind, but the fact remains that socio-economic factors definitely affect tendencies to deceive and cheat. All children are anxious to make good marks, but when one is socially handicapped the temptation to gain status by marks, even by cheating, is greater. [On the other hand, the socio-economic factors do not seem to make any appreciable difference in the service tendencies, and very little upon the matter of self-control, as these tendencies were discovered in the testing.] While the effect of example, cultural privileges, home harmony, etc., were definitely manifest, the chief lack seemed to be in specific preparation for specific types of problems and responsibilities. Homes, schools, and churches must learn how to give guidance in specific behavior and prepare children in advance for meeting temptations.

Homes do influence children, although those who are most anxious to have worthy offspring become discouraged. The influence is in specific learnings and in cumulative general attitudes and dispositions. Example and direction of conscious attention toward desirable forms of conduct count in the long run, but adults often fail to recognize the fact that children do not have the same sense of relative values that older persons have and that the continual nagging of an exacting parent or finicky relative may create an adverse instead of a co-operative attitude. There has to be a certain maturation in children's experience and social adjustments before they will act socially and by refined standards. Parents, for instance, may feel a child should acknowledge a service or gift by the conventional "thank you," but children show their appreciation for things they really enjoy by their enthusiastic reception and consequent conduct. They

have not yet the social tact to say "thank you" for things that mean nothing to them. Likewise, in matters of honesty parents are far more concerned with consistency than children, who are concentrating upon an immediate situation and have no concern for abstract general principles. Adults expect children to be unselfish, generous, and thoughtful in acts and procedures which often do not have any serious meaning for them and in situations which interfere with what they feel is their normal right or privilege. To get a child to take the role of others and to do unto others as he would have others do unto him requires patience. It is not achieved by an emotional display by the adult when failure to measure up to adult expectancy or desire occurs.

Children will always reflect both faults and virtues in their parents. In his book *What Ails Our Youth?*¹² George A. Coe indicts the older generation for the prevalent faults of the younger. He says that it is not what the older generation tell children they ought to do and be that makes them ready to act in an approved way, but that it is the example which the older group sets and the way in which the older persons share with younger ones in the struggle to achieve ideals. The balance is not always on the wrong side, for society is making progress, and the younger generation is learning from the older. Parents cannot and will not always be consistent, but children can see the general tendencies and feel virtues as well as faults. If parents do not assume infallibility but show honest desires to live kindly and sympathetically with their children, the interaction will be mutually sustaining.

¹² New York: Scribner's, 1924.

There is a distinct hunger in children for affection and opportunity for co-operation. It may be a part of that commonly observed desire for recognition and response, and it is undoubtedly a part of that struggle of the child to attain self-respecting individuality. In Germane and Germane's investigation into influences affecting character development it was found that 97 per cent of the children expressed a desire for closer companionship with their parents.¹³ The home above all other places ought to be the one where a child can feel that somebody cares about how he feels, how he gets along, and what he wants to do. He needs continual understanding, sympathy, and support as he is experimenting with life and trying to find himself and an adequate role. He should be able to review his acts in the light of what he thinks they will mean to someone whom he loves and who is interested in him. When parents are cold, indifferent, or careless, too busy about their own duties or pleasures to take time with the child, he does the best he can by himself but misses the help and encouragement he ought to have. He may find support and direction in some other quarter where the outcomes will be quite unfortunate, or he may develop a fearfulness, or occasionally an independent toughness, that is far from social. Mutual regard must be wisely stimulated, or overdevotion may spoil a child. Unwise acts of an indulgent parent may result in dependence or selfishness and disregard for the rights and needs of others.

In a study of the differences in behavior of children according to birth order it was found that the "middle"

¹³ C. E. Germane and E. G. Germane, *Character Education* (New York: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1929), Part II, chap. xiv.

child was likely to display more craving for a physical demonstration of affection than either the older or younger ones. Among children of kindergarten age the "only" child showed the greatest demand for some sign of affection.¹⁴ Unquestionably, parents do show different attitudes toward different children, but in many cases it seems to be for other reasons than that they are older or younger. Some children seem to invite and respond to affection much more than others, even when a more reserved type may actually be more loving and eager for attention. Accidental happenings often are misinterpreted and give rise to mental sets; health may give occasion for special consideration; clash of temperaments may prevent the happiest relationships; any one of many factors may make a significant difference even when parents want to be impartial.

It is fortunate that most parents have general rather than specific goals for their children. A child will find more freedom for his own developing choices if his parents do not have their minds made up as to what he ought to do and be. In a limited study of "Character Development in Children of Successful Families" it was found that the husbands desired "all-round development" for their children and that the wives wanted opportunity for the children "to make the best use of their abilities." Both expressed wishes to see their children become independent, self-reliant, responsible individuals, finding joy in living and able to meet problems as they arise. These college-trained parents in their thirties regard education

¹⁴ F. L. Goodenough and A. M. Leahy, "The Effect of Certain Family Relationships upon the Development of Personality," *Pedagogical Seminary*, CCCXLI (1927), 45-71.

as important and want their children to have all the privileges they can give them, but they feel that the child ought to be free to choose his own course in life. Among other traits named as desirable they mention "ability to meet adverse circumstances," "ability to face facts when they are in the wrong," and "ability to distinguish between right and wrong." Religion receives little consideration in this group of sixty-eight families, although only one family lacked church affiliation. The parents expressed more uncertainty about religion and their capacity to direct their children in that field than in any other phase of their responsibilities. This study is interesting as an illustration of how some educated parents are realizing the amount of freedom which must be given to growing children, and yet how the feeling persists that certain attitudes and values must be developed in children before they are ready for the larger freedom.¹⁵ The best training will undoubtedly result as a by-product of happy home relationships where there is no uncertainty as to the general social and moral trends of the parents.

Unless a good many habit systems are gradually built into a child's conduct he cannot be expected to operate with any large degree of judgment and freedom. It is too much to expect him to meet the complex requirements of everyday life without considerable stability in well-regulated customs. Instead of allowing a child to go to bed or to get up when he likes, he should be expected to observe regular sleeping hours based upon health needs and social conveniences. These are not matters for his immature opinions or fickle wishes to decide, and the

¹⁵ R. G. Woodhouse, "Character Development in Children of Successful Families," *Religious Education*, December, 1930.

sooner he becomes happily adjusted to a wise routine the better. His eating should likewise be based upon a study of dietary needs and not upon his chance food fads. Children's likes and dislikes have wide ranges of development, and they should be controlled by something else than chance associations. The regular hygienic rules for bathing, cleaning teeth, elimination, and other habits of a good home should be willingly accepted as routine practices necessary to safeguard health. Some children are kept miserable by unwise indulgence of their fickle likes and dislikes. Likes and dislikes should be more than expressions of feelings if they are to control conduct. Desires can never be safe guides until intelligence is directed toward their organization.

Planned distribution of household responsibilities should cause a child to share willingly in the duties of the home. These should be performed as outcomes of social expectancies justly imposed on each. Order and neatness in the care of his own belongings and in keeping a home attractive should become a habit in which he has pride and satisfaction. Wise use of his time, with a working schedule for play, and for duties, should give him a habit system that makes him feel he is master of his destiny and not the victim of circumstances. Emotional habits should be watched lest he become a victim of moods, tantrums, nervous strains, or other dispositions which will handicap him. Emotional satisfactions should be associated with expanding interests and not allowed to become exhausted in passing whims. Thinking should be stimulated so that he critically examines his experiences, develops a working philosophy of life, and finds delight in solving hard problems. Without good habit


systems a child is the sport of chance, lacks stability and poise, has little capacity for discrimination, and wears himself out on secondary things.

The home is the place for the development of healthy sex attitudes and habits. Early in life he should become accustomed to dealing with matters of sex as with any phase of his physical life. He should be familiar with the proper terms for the sex organs and for the processes of elimination, and these should be used without any suggestion of vulgarity. Habits of modesty without feelings of undue secrecy, shame, or fear should grow out of wholesome social relationships. Vulgar curiosity should be prevented by a natural acquaintance with the facts of reproduction, the differences in the sexes, and a natural dignity in appreciation of the processes of life. Moral problems arising out of surroundings and ideas that disregard the finer qualities of sex and which tend to debase them have to be met as they arise or anticipated as the child matures and as they become more meaningful and significant to him. The main need seems to be to develop healthy social attitudes, to see that the physiological facts are given in wholesome settings, to develop family and group traditions of trust and refinement, and to promote as far as possible intimate habits of confidence between parents and children. A book like De Schweinitz's *Growing Up* can lie on the shelves, can be used to explain facts and answer questions, and will reduce tendencies to secretiveness and morbid curiosity.¹⁶ Difficulties with enuresis, or chance habits of masturbation, or other conditions which may call special attention to the sex organs may require patient handling but should be kept from becoming adult

¹⁶ K. De Schweinitz, *Growing Up* (New York: Macmillan, 1928).

emotional worries. All the necessary adjustments, and all the training given, should integrate the wholesome expression of sex into the refined expression of a growing personality, not allowing it to become a separate problem. Free friendly relations of boys and girls in many common interests will help to keep the adjustments in a healthy social atmosphere. [Movies exploiting sex, indecent literature, and other influences which tend to develop wrong attitudes and to corrupt the imagination should be avoided as far as possible, and standards of good taste should be built up.] Happy associations with persons of good taste and refined expression help to develop aversions toward vulgar manifestations of sex and strengthen desires for behavior that will be recognized as cultured. By twelve years of age some fairly strong habits of this kind should be the product of home training and associations.

The place of religious guidance and religious experience in and through the home is dealt with in chapter x. We have seen that the spirit of religion may be caught by a child in the life of the home better than anywhere else. He should get his first sense of self-worth there, and the spirit of love and trust should quicken his desire to realize the full possibilities of his life. His interest in spiritual values rather than mere things or animal activities grows by finding them interesting at home. Unselfishness and regard for others develops in a home where mutual interests control all behaviors and where sympathetic attitudes toward other people are felt in all relationships. His philosophy of life slowly matures, but it may be unconsciously shaped at every turn of events in the life of the child when wise parents guide his expanding experiences and help him to get relative meanings and values in his



adjustments. An orderly, stable home helps him to see the value of dependable facts and procedures and gives him a growing appreciation of a world governed by law and order and faith in the social rules which further it. In whatever practices of formal religion or church relationships a child may participate, the family should help him to integrate these experiences into his total life-interests. They should not be permitted to be merely marginal and superficial activities. It is not the repetition of forms that will affect his objectives and purposes in living but the expanding meanings of life, the appreciation of great world-forces supporting human ideals, and the association with those whose lives are contributing to the welfare of mankind. Forms and phrases are secondary, experienced values paramount. A good home will guide a child and support him in his growing effort to realize his highest values in fulness of living.

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CHAPTER VIII

SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

When the child reaches the grade school, the home has usually less control of his time and less opportunity to condition his conduct than the school. The school knows where he is and what he is doing and guides his activities for at least five or six hours a day, five days a week, nine or ten months in the year. In places where school authorities offer supervised play and recreation the best part of his active day is controlled by the school. He may leave home before eight in the morning and not return before five or six in the evening. His play, lunch, reading time, and studies are supervised by the school. In the city where many live in crowded apartments some parents are thankful for this kind of schedule, for they hardly know what to do with these bundles of energy. Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, and vacation periods are almost too much for many parents. They can manage to give a baby attention, and a kindergarten child may not be too restless; but, by nine or ten, children need watching all the time, and it is impossible to do it. Some homes cannot do much more than give a child a place to sleep, eat, and change clothes when necessary. Homes vary greatly, but schools are built upon more or less the same pattern in similar communities, and their provision for youngsters is standard. They are institutions of tremendous importance in children's lives, and for some more than for others. In a good many situations teachers give far more attention to the health, moral life, vocational ambitions and prepara-

tion, and general development of certain children than do their parents. In some cases even the best homes and best-intentioned parents do not do more for a boy or girl than the school and wise teachers. The school was originally started to supplement the home in preparing children for life in a complex order, and in progressive communities the institution well justifies itself.

Nursery schools are becoming more and more common. For a few hours each day a child of two or three years of age may be placed under professional guidance in a stimulating environment. No formal instruction is given, but a child is subjected to a definitely organized program of experiences. There is time for free play with more varied equipment than most homes can provide. He can play by himself or with others his own age, and a skilful leader guides the adjustments so that he is continually learning and becoming socialized. Suggestions come to him as he watches others, and more or less unconsciously he assumes their attitudes, adopts their practices, and shares experiences with them. He finds that it pays to look after his own things and that others will respect his things if he respects theirs. After a few outbursts he may find that it is better to control his feelings and impulses and that there is fun in co-operation. It may be that he will have to correct prejudices and to temper his likes and dislikes. One youngster, in a school where lunch was served, showed how her learning had taken effect when she said, "I don't like my spinach, but I eat it just the same."¹ Children can control their prejudices, and it is good for them to be masters of their appetites at

¹ H. M. Johnson, *Children in the Nursery School*. (New York: J. W. Day & Co., 1928), p. 28.

an early age. A comparative study of nursery and non-nursery school children showed no measurable gain physically or mentally in a period of seven months' observation, but a larger percentage of nursery-school children showed improvements in habits, eliminating undesirable forms and gaining desirable ones.² Certain children showed distinct changes, and, in cases where the home training had not been wise, dispositions were considerably modified in the new environment.

Kindergarten carries on the socializing process as its primary purpose, but now it is expected to be realized as a by-product of a planned program. Each day has its schedule of activities, with special times for free play, project work, music, story-telling, rest, and recreational interests. A child is given more responsibility, is allowed to help in planning the projects, and is expected to regulate his own behavior and to do his share in keeping group conduct at its best. He is introduced to books and to the use of numbers and writing. His work is subjected to the criticism of others, and his judgments are expected on his own behavior and accomplishments and on those of others. Slowly he gains some idea of standards of achievements, of beauty, and of social value.

With the first grade, expectations are rapidly increased, and the child learns to act more and more independently. Up to the sixth grade, however, he is regarded as an immature child who cannot be depended upon for much consistent or persistent work. There are large differences, however, in children, and some learn much more rapidly

² E. Kavin and C. Hoefler, *A Comparative Study of a Nursery School and Non-nursery School Group* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 51.

than others to discipline themselves, to choose with discrimination, and to apply themselves diligently to a chosen task. The curriculum of the elementary school is concerned with the mastery of fundamental facts, attitudes, and skills, so that the work is much the same, though progressive, from the first to the sixth grade. Beginning with simple number work, the child gradually discovers the use of numbers and how to solve common problems. Reading, writing, drawing, and a few other expressional activities are practiced until they can be used with ease and effectiveness. By varied attractive methods the children are introduced to history, to general knowledge of the world and of nature, to literature, to art, and to a critical study of current social affairs. There is much to learn, for the race has accumulated a tremendous body of knowledge, and the mechanisms of modern civilization are greatly involved. Education tries to present this racial heritage to the child so that he will become interested in it and be able to use it as he has need or desire. The learning pace is set for an "average" child and is therefore discouraging to the dull ones and often too slow for superior minds.

In this general educational process certain character aims are more or less recognized. In the *Tenth Yearbook* of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association a brief summary is given of seventeen different types of stated objectives. The list is suggestive of the prevailing indefiniteness which characterizes a great deal of education and which prevents satisfactory outcomes in character and personality. In reviewing these and in criticizing existing theories of character education the *Yearbook* editors recognize the need of

pushing experimental studies and of carefully examining all attempts to work out a practical program and effective methods. The seventeen ideas of character education are briefly listed, with short annotations:

1. General goodness—exhortation without definition of specific goals
2. Conformity to conventional mores—no provision for adjustment to social change
3. Accordance with religious dogma—no relation to inherent values
4. Composite of many specific habits—danger of inflexible habit responses
5. Service of the state—not much more than emotionalized patriotic prejudices
6. Social usefulness—an indefinite attitude of service to an indefinite humanity
7. Love and a desire to serve—sentimental rather than practical motivation
8. Harmonious adjustment of personality—without critical judgment
9. Composite of traits, virtues, and ideals—tendency to lose sight of actual conditions and to speak of abstractions
10. Self-control—inhibition has no value as an end in itself
11. Self-expression—its value depends upon the size of the selves
12. Intelligent living—cannot be separated from emotional discipline
13. Beauty—aesthetic appreciation should be stimulated in all situations
14. Conscientious action—danger of blind spots
15. Imitation of some ideal person—tendency to forget social ends
16. Creative experience and reconstruction of life—tends to be sophisticated
17. Integration of values—seeking best for all concerned in each situation³

³ *Tenth Yearbook: Character Education* (Department of Superintendence, N.E.A., 1932), pp. 54-56.

This summary closes with a definition of a "good act" as that "which creates as many and as worthy satisfactions as possible for as many people as possible, over as long a time as possible." It sounds ideal, but the practice of such an ethic would require a lifelong self-discipline with frequent analyses of the consequences of social acts. Yet ideals have their values, for they give direction to efforts and they challenge ordinary conduct with the necessity of serious purpose.

One method of classifying the present methods of character training in our different school systems would be to describe them under three categories.

1. *Incidental*.—In this type of program there is no well-planned series of objectives, but each teacher and administrator is expected to use his experience and insight into human nature to help students whenever the time and occasion seems appropriate
2. *Formal*.—This type of program usually depends upon verbal instruction and upon discussion of problems and of abstract virtues. It may develop rules of conduct, codes, slogans, and measuring scales
3. *Planned functional*.—Experiences are studied to discover the consequences of different kinds of conduct. Guidance is planned at those points where meaning may be made significant. Satisfactions are found in carefully considered social living, and motivations operate in relation to specific values.⁴

There is little talk today of direct and indirect methods of character education, for the terms have little meaning. That which may be direct from a teacher's point of view may be an indirect experience for the student, and that which is planned as a by-product by the administrator

⁴ Cf. J. F. Hosic, "Character Education," *School Executives Magazine*, November, 1931.

may be felt and responded to by the pupils in a very direct way. Each of the three methods mentioned above may contribute something to the total desired outcomes. Teachers and administrators who have the welfare of their pupils in mind and are not bound by tradition or formal requirements have opportunities many times a day to do or say something that will stimulate the self-respect of a student, stir his ambition, or further some social tendency. Their example in the common contacts of everyday social adjustment may mean more than anything else. On the other hand, some things are brought to conscious attention and integrated into a working philosophy of life by generalizing and adding the weight of public opinion. Formal treatment of great social issues, crises of character development, opportunities for life-investment, traditions, ideals, and outstanding principles of personality expression may have a very definite value in creating sentiment and in developing an atmosphere in which specific attitudes and acts may operate. The planned functional approach has a more practical tone and is more likely to elicit intelligent co-operation. It aims at a clear statement of objectives which have meaning in the current situation and which will appear as vital to satisfactory living, individual and collective. It deals with procedures necessary to realize the goals, which involve both immediate action and a longer program. While the danger of developing little prigs is always present in character education, the tendency to pride themselves on their virtues may be offset by participation in great tasks which are inspiring but humbling. It is also essential for children to visualize social objectives, and to come into close contact with persons who are achieving

significant social improvements, if they are to set themselves with purpose to unselfish enterprises. There is more danger of letting children drift along without any sense of social responsibility, satisfied with low attainments, than of seeing them intoxicated with fantastic dreams. Life lived in any large way keeps one humble.

In considering the possibilities of a character education program in the public school, the fact of wide differences between schools must always be kept in mind. It is foolish to make general comments upon what schools ought to do, for conditions vary to such an extent that what is vital in one situation may be unnecessary in another. A few contrasts of situations will help a reader to keep the realities of the educational world in mind as theories and desirable practices are being discussed. The physical resources, the cultural surroundings, the conservatism of officials and poorly trained teachers, the attitude of parents and community leaders, all affect the possibilities of a progressive program directed toward character and personality growth. Some of the differences that condition the lives of growing boys and girls are suggested in the extreme situations described here:

Schools of 25-100 enrolment *and* schools of 1,000-5,000 enrolment

Crowded classrooms of 50-60 pupils *and* two-teacher experimental rooms of 25-30

Run-down slum district schools with mixed population, *and* privileged homogeneous suburban schools

Rural one-room isolated schools *and* finely equipped consolidated graded schools

Meagerly equipped old-fashioned schools *and* elaborately furnished and decorated up-to-date schools

Poorly trained and poorly paid staff of teachers *and* well-educated, carefully selected, and adequately paid staff

Thoroughly supervised programs *and* politically bound traditional systems

Pupils apologizing for existence, poor and depressed, *and* pupils feeling superiority, living in luxury, self-confident, and ambitious

There can be no hasty generalization as to how these different situations will affect the outlook, life-purposes and growing character of boys and girls. Influences are subtle, and often unnoticed forces are determining responses of a desirable or undesirable kind. The personalities of some teachers and administrators transcend their limitations and Mark Hopkins at one end of a log and a boy at the other may do more for the transformation of a personality than the best equipment and most carefully planned program. In the tests of Hartshorne and May it was found that some public-school classrooms were as free from cheating as any private school classroom but that the chances were not equal. In a public school of 1,200 pupils 40 per cent cheated in a test, while in a private school of 850 only 11 per cent cheated in the same test.⁵ The homogeneity and culture of a community is definitely reflected in the schools and classrooms. Not only in the matter of deceit but also in tests of service and self-control the community influence was evident. It is impossible for the best character education to work without close co-operation of home, school, and community. All influences are interacting and counteracting, or co-operating.

In analyzing the factors which make the greatest differences in school situations it may be helpful to classify them under five heads: (1) home influences—the pre-school, out-of-school, and toward-school attitudes and

⁵ H. Hartshorne and M. May, *Studies in Deceit* (New York, 1928), p. 315. By permission of the Macmillan Co., publishers.

training—(2) schoolmates and the social adjustments resulting from interactions; (3) teachers and teaching methods; (4) curriculum and extra-curriculum activities; and (5) school spirit.

I. HOME INFLUENCES

Schools are built to serve homes where there are children, and the parents must pay the tax bills. It is their duty and privilege to become acquainted with different methods of school procedure, with different possibilities in curriculum, and with the kind of outcomes that may be expected from different methods and programs. If parents take a sympathetic and intelligent interest in what the school is doing and help to determine its policy, there is a united influence upon the children which helps them to feel the central social values and to know what the community expects of them. Parent organizations are vital to the success of a school program. Educators should have more to do with the preschool child, and the many researches in that field are providing an abundance of facts which parents need to know. Co-operation of the school with the home before the child enters the school would pave the way for later co-operation of the home with the school. The attitudes and habits formed in the early years should be consistent with the best that the school endeavors later to shape. The in-school and out-of-school experiences should be closely integrated, so that what a child learns at school may enrich his life at home, and what he learns at home may serve as background and give meaning and motivation for what he needs to learn at school. The interest of parents in what a child is learning at school, and the problems which continually arise,

fortify the child and help him to do his best. Expectation and recognition by parents are important in stimulating effort and in caring for individual needs in the mass system of school training.

In his book *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child*, Morgan⁶ says:

The teacher of the primary grades has given into her care an extremely heterogeneous mixture of all sorts of adult maladjustments reflected in the children who have been in the care of these adults. She has spoiled little urchins who refuse to do anything unless constantly aided by their parents. She has contrary ones who do the opposite of everything that is wanted. She has those who have violent tempers—sullen ones, pouty ones, priggish ones, mean ones, selfish ones, cruel ones, dishonest ones, as well as a few seemingly perfect little angels.

✓ To meet these conditions he says that the teacher must keep her emotions in control, try to understand the reasons why each child acts as he does, and help him to a satisfactory social adjustment. The active energies of the child must find a desirable outlet; and, if he finds something to do which is both personally satisfying and socially approved, he will get along with himself and everyone else. Morgan points out, however, that the responsibility for correcting maladjustments lies not only with the teacher but that parents should investigate the school situation and dispassionately consider the influences which affect the child. A child may form a dislike for a good teacher because of some chance incident or because of some association for which the teacher is not responsible. It may be a clash of temperaments, and the wise parent may ease the situation. But the child must

⁶ J. J. B. Morgan, *Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child* (New York 1925), p. 287. By permission of the Macmillan Co., publishers.

never feel that the parent is backing him against a teacher or administrator, nor, on the other hand, that parent and teacher are working together to compel him to be good. Mutual understanding and co-operativeness are essential.

II. ADJUSTMENTS TO SCHOOLMATES

When the little child first goes out into his neighborhood, the effect of his playmates is evident in words, acts, and attitudes which he tries out on his family. The first school experiences are highly stimulating and, to some children, almost overwhelming. It takes them awhile to adjust themselves naturally and calmly to their new schoolmates. They are all close to him in age and social experience, and the give-and-take of every contact is likely to be keener than his relations to those who know him at home and in his immediate home neighborhood. He has to compete with others, measure his ideas and accomplishments with his peers, and win on his merits. He learns to co-operate with others in projects, games, and routine affairs. He finds certain patterns of behavior more to his liking than others, perhaps finds a chum with whom he can have some intimate friendship, perhaps imitates some technique or attitude, perhaps sets himself in antagonism to those he does not like. It is unfortunate if he finds himself isolated because of some physical handicap, peculiarity of behavior, economic condition, racial or national mark. Instead of gaining the desirable social attitude and being able to say with pride "we," he may be put on the defensive and assume either an inferior role or an aggressive compensatory spirit.

[The fact that a child must act, think, and make his

emotional responses in the presence of his schoolmates for at least five or six hours a day is one that holds in it tremendous import for good or ill. [His schoolmates stimulate or inhibit him at every turn. He has to accept their standards and get their approval or fight a lone battle, and few feel equal to the latter or see any fun in it. A child tends to develop a school self, to reflect group attitudes, to follow prevailing modes of social behavior. Hartshorne and May found some very definite signs of classroom influence upon the individual members, and an influence that was deeper than any teacher-controlled group attitude which seemed to carry forward group traditions.⁷

III. TEACHERS AND TEACHING METHODS

103 Next to his schoolmates the greatest influence upon the child in school is his teacher. Perhaps if she could be multiplied as many times as his schoolmates, her influence would be much greater, but she stands one among many. We say "she," for the great majority of elementary teachers are women. In the report made by a committee on character measurement in the public schools of Chicago the estimate of teacher influence is given in the following words:

Practically every questionnaire study, whether the respondents were schoolmen or pupils, has placed the teacher influence in the first rank among forces making for inspiration. It seems to be felt that teachers are not well prepared for this responsibility—that a feeling of inadequacy robs them of courage, initiative, and persistency.⁸

⁷ *Op. cit.*, chap. xvii.

⁸ A. G. Schmidt, "Report on School Procedures and Activities Found or Believed To Have a Connection with Character Development," *Journal of Religious Instruction*, June, 1931.

There is no doubt that the requirements for a good teacher should be put on a high level, but up to the present very little has been done to prepare her for the most important part of her task—personality development in pupils. Hartshorne says in *Character in Human Relations*:

The attitude of the teacher is a definite, creative force. The teacher who bullies cannot develop an atmosphere of cooperation and goodwill. A teacher must be trusted by her pupils if she is to lead them. . . . In spite of the fact that personal qualifications are regarded as a *sine qua non* of good teaching and are included among the conditions upon which teachers are employed, we have so far done little or nothing to develop them.⁹

In the *Tenth Yearbook on Character Education* the answers from elementary school pupils (Grades IV–VIII) show what kind of teacher they regard as most helpful to them. The first ten characteristics¹⁰ most frequently mentioned are:

Helps pupils with work	4736
Strict	1950
Patient	1656
Kind	1629
Teaches character; self-control, honesty, etc..	1291
Inspires pupils to be good citizens.	1223
Impartial, has no pets	967
Pleasant, cheerful, jolly, good sport.	871
Gives definite assignments and holds pupils to them	791
Encourages and inspires pupils to accomplish best	626

Such answers and other ratings of teacher ability and personality indicate the fact that teachers must have in themselves the kind of characteristics which they expect

⁹ New York: Scribner's, 1932, p. 341.

¹⁰ P. 285.

to develop in their pupils. They must be well trained, know their job, be exact, have good habits of work, show poise and firmness, radiate kindliness and cheerfulness, be impartial and adaptable to new and changing situations. It is a large and exacting bill of requirements, but the task of personality-building is important. A teacher's knowledge of human nature must be sufficient to enable her to guide children in the normal situations with ease and to handle the average problems. Morgan quotes from an unpublished thesis on teachers' attitudes toward conduct problems: "It appears as though the teacher with the least appreciation of the actual conduct or its significance was the most disturbed by misconduct, whereas the teacher who had the keenest insight into actual behavior situations made the fewest open complaints."¹¹ Children like teachers who understand them, who see their weaknesses and flaws in a clear light, and who can help them. Wickman contrasts the attitudes of teachers and of psychiatrists to children's problems. While teachers differ radically in their estimate of problems, their personal attitudes seem to affect their judgments and actions. They tend to place immoralities, dishonesties, and transgressions against authorities as the most serious kind of offences, while mental hygienists put withdrawing, recessive personality traits, and like inferiority expressions as the most undesirable types of behavior. Teachers regard compliant, submissive, dependent behavior as more desirable than aggressive, experimental, independent behavior.¹² Commenting on this Morgan points out that the

¹¹ Morgan, *Child Psychology* (R. R. Smith & Co., 1931), p. 450.

¹² E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1928), p. 116.

withdrawing attitude is one of the most difficult disorders to treat, tending to become acute dementia praecox, or schizophrenia. He says teachers dislike aggressiveness because it is difficult to control, and they fail to recognize withdrawal and dependency as symptoms of maladjustment. They need a better knowledge of what is the normal behavior of children and also a better emotional adjustment, so that they can handle "shocking" problems without being shocked.¹³

[The method a teacher uses is the instrument into which she projects her personality and by which she hopes to touch the personalities of her pupils. If her method is autocratic, the learning process is not made attractive by an inspiring personality. But, if the teacher acts as a guide who helps her pupils to discover interesting facts, to solve significant problems, and to plan and execute creative projects, her personality may radiate through the whole process, inviting happy responses. There is no one way of teaching, but the pupil's learning depends upon the degree to which he becomes an active participant in the undertaking. Whether the subject is arithmetic, history, geography, literature, or anything else, the child must find live interests in it so that he will keep a continuing interest in the use of his facts, skills, and appreciations, and will want to learn more and do more. His knowledge of people derived from history, literature, or other sources should make him interested in people about him and skilful in adjustments with them; his introduction to science should stimulate an appreciation of the wonders and beauty of nature, with a desire to explore, to investigate, to find out how things are constructed; his

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¹³ *Child Psychology*, p. 454.

courses in drawing, art, and music should give him a desire to find and create beautiful expressions of form, color, sound, skill, and action. Each learning should uncover some of the secrets of life, bring him into closer relationship with the ongoing creative process, and cause him to have a deep feeling of reverence for the whole and a sense of his own worth as a significant factor in the whole.

The attitude of a teacher is reflected in the pupils. If she is enthusiastic, the pupils will catch her spirit; but, if she is apparently tired all the time and wearied with the task, the pupils will anticipate the end of the day or week with the greatest delight. If a child is trusted, he tends to be worthy of the trust. If he is allowed to control himself, he learns to do so. George A. Coe says that it is not teaching children about self-control or good citizenship which makes them interested in their community, but actual participation in democratic living. Each must contribute to the actual good of all by specific acts of appreciable value. The teacher who conducts her classes in a democratic way proves the reality of democratic ideals.¹⁴

Individual differences must be reckoned with in all parts of the school program. Yet teachers generally have too much to do and too many pupils to handle to give adequate attention to individual needs. A child may be called lazy when he is mentally incapable of a certain kind of work or when his preparation may not have given him the necessary skill to keep pace with his class. He may be handicapped by poor eyesight or by deafness and treated as dull or stupid. Poor teaching may prevent a child from

¹⁴ *Educating for Citizenship* (New York: Scribner's, 1932), p. 155.

getting a proper skill in reading or a free use of numbers or a meaningful historical perspective. Analysis of pupils' work should reveal where the difficulties lie and permit individual coaching, but only an adequate system of supervision can do this. Teachers should be trained to recognize symptoms of maladjustment and to maintain an objective attitude toward individual peculiarities and needs. In his book *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child*, Dr. Thom gives an excellent illustration as to how the study of an individual case changed the whole range of possibilities for an eight-year-old girl. She was unable to work satisfactorily in the fourth grade, would not concentrate, was inattentive, stayed away from school whenever she could, and was annoying in her desire to get attention. A psychological examination proved her to be of superior mental ability (I.Q. of 151), but she was not being stimulated to any interesting activity in the fourth grade. She was promoted to the fifth grade and at once took a different attitude toward her work, made much happier adjustments in all her relationships, and had a new start in life.¹⁵ Innumerable case studies show how attention to individual needs may transform the outlook and tendencies of children before habits have set them too deeply to correct without complex personality diagnoses. The main requirement of good teaching is that it shall release personality, surround it with a stimulating and varied environment, and give it wise direction as the need warrants. It cannot make up for hereditary lacks, but it can help capacities to reach a satisfying fulfilment.

¹⁵ D. A. Thom, *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child* (New York: Appleton, 1928), p. 296.

IV. CURRICULAR AND EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

The curriculum today is considered as that series of planned experiences which a school provides as opportunities for child development. The mastery of facts and skills are not ends in themselves but means to greater ends. To the degree that a child begins to see something beyond the immediate tasks and to understand the reason for his school activities, he is able to enter co-operatively and wholeheartedly into the system. But many teachers and administrators would find difficulty in explaining to a child why he should study certain things. The average school curriculum is almost a chance product of unrelated forces. It has grown up by the method of accretions suggested by new theories and by the elimination of those parts which caused least trouble to dispose of when the program became too crowded. Very little has been done to develop a school curriculum on the basis of the life-needs of growing persons in a changing world.

One interesting approach to curriculum reform has been made by a sociologist who would control educational procedures by a study of social needs. H. S. Tuttle, in his book *A Social Basis for Education* tests the aims, methods, and curriculum by the social outcomes. He says that "until a program of education is devised and put into operation by means of which tastes, and attitudes, and ideals are controlled in the interests of social welfare, society will continue to face the danger of catastrophe. He proposes that curriculums be organized about social experiences that will create wholesome social attitudes and impart vital knowledge as to how these can be put into practical operation. This will include:

1. Tool subjects presented as essential to desired social experiences and developed in a normal environment
2. Social experiences related to immediate and more distant life-interests and directed toward social progress
3. Free activities such as are sometimes included in extra-curricular organizations
4. Examples and co-operative guidance of the teachers
5. Democratic school administration
6. Suitable equipment for work and play, permitting healthy social expression.

That part of the curriculum which advances knowledge is counted as essential to every step, but research is needed to determine what will be of most value in any given situation and for any particular grade. Ideas are conditioned, of course, by the expected relationship of the school to the progress of society. A community that is anxious to preserve the *status quo* will have quite a different interest in knowledge than one where social change is expected and where knowledge of the past and present is desired to give social vision and to guard social action.¹⁶

Exposure to curriculum material does not make character, for what a child becomes depends upon what he does and how he feels about what he does. There is a need for what W. C. Bower calls a sense of worth-while activity when one has accomplished something by reason of his own initiative and ability.¹⁷ Listening to good music will not make a child musical any more than sitting in a grandstand watching a ball game will make him a good ballplayer. If a child can hear good music and participate in an enterprise where music is a means to a larger

¹⁶ New York: Crowell & Co., 1934, pp. 192 and 479.

¹⁷ *Character through Creative Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), p. 214.

end, he may become interested and respond as he would not otherwise. For instance, in some dramatic presentation, music may be essential to the interpretation of a given part and may enrich the whole production. He may admire the skill of some musician and desire to have a part in an orchestra. In literature, reading great biographies, being thrilled with adventurous exploits, and analyzing and discussing the exemplary qualities of outstanding persons will not necessarily motivate a child to any specific form of behavior; yet, if interests are aroused and dreams are started, the contact with persons above the ordinary may stimulate him, control his imagination, and ultimately affect his choices and actions. Studies in delinquency have revealed the power of imagination, kindled and fed by stories and pictures, to induce crime and to set the crime patterns. Likewise vocational interests have been aroused and ambitions fired by reading, the child recalling later in life the inspiration of an early interest. A brief review of some leader in science, art, business, or the professions by a teacher may awaken a boy's ambition, and some comment give him a new sense of values which will direct his thinking and imagination.

V. SCHOOL SPIRIT

When we come to consider the intangible factor of school spirit, we have difficulty in describing it, for the differences which mark one school as superior to another are hard to define. As in the analysis of personalities, the differences are more quantitative than qualitative. It may be impossible to say that a certain quality is entirely lacking in any situation but the degree to which desirable qualities are present and undesirable qualities absent

differentiates one from the other. That pupils feel these differences is evident whenever two schools are compared, and the reputation of schools, like that of individuals, travels widely. Neighborhoods have distinctive characteristics, and schools reflect them. Leaders leave their impress on an institution, and traditions grow up nourished by sympathetic support. Some principals are respected and admired, and their schools are influenced by their attitudes; others are hated because of severe methods or on account of some case of injustice. When a school has good equipment, well-kept grounds, or any special advantage, the community as well as the pupils tend to take a certain pride in it and its activities. Assemblies or a junior band or glee club build up a school spirit. Hartshorne calls the assembly the "brain of the school—the place where the school comes to itself as an organized whole."¹⁸ It may serve to inspire idealism and to raise the level of the whole school program. Even in an elementary school, the athletic features and group games may serve to develop standards of sportsmanship and to arouse community interest. School projects, such as a Junior Red Cross drive for a special cause, may serve to lift the social interests of the children. A community clean-up week is entered into much more seriously by elementary children than by high-school boys and girls. Even the youngest may contribute something to that project and share in the general recognition.

It is interesting to note that children respond better in smaller groups than in larger. Perhaps this is true all through life but especially in the elementary school. Hartshorne and May found the average intercorrelation

¹⁸ *Character in Human Relations* (New York: Scribner's, 1932), p. 348.

among the four types of conduct measured by them—honesty, service, persistence and inhibition—was .255, when the scores of the children of an entire school were plotted, and .510, when each room was taken as a unit and the mean scores correlated.¹⁹ In the study of service the tests showed that the most important single factor affecting service was the mutual friendship of children in the same classroom. Tendencies to cheat or to be honest seemed often to represent a class attitude—a contagious spirit that permeated the group.²⁰

It is unfortunate that many schools are using competitive stimulation rather than co-operative projects to arouse efforts. J. B. Maller in his experimental study, *Cooperation and Competition*, found that “the frequent staging of contests, the constant emphasis upon making and breaking of records, and the glorification of heroic individual achievements and championships, in our present educational system lead toward the acquisition of the habit of competitiveness.”²¹ The child is trained to look at the members of his group as constant competitors and urged to put forth a maximum effort to excel them. Lack of practice in group projects, or community activities, prevents the growth of group loyalties and devotion toward a common good. If society is to transcend the spirit of competitive individualism, it must give children

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

²⁰ Hartshorne and May, *Studies in Service and Self-control* (New York, 1929), p. 271. By permission of the Macmillan Co., publishers.

²¹ Quoted in *Tenth Yearbook*, p. 201; cf. J. B. Maller, *Cooperation and Competition: An Experimental Study in Motivation* (Teachers College, “Contributions to Education,” No. 384), (Columbia University Press, 1929).

more opportunity to discover the satisfactions of group enterprises and co-operation.

The contributions of the school to personality development may be summed up under seven heads. The degree to which they are likely to be achieved depends upon the kind of experiences described in the foregoing list of influential factors. The growth of personality may be recognized as one watches for:

- ✓1. Social adjustability and social habits and attitudes.
- ✓2. Intellectual ability and alertness.
3. Knowledge and expressional skills.
4. Interests and desires.
5. Aesthetic appreciations.
- ✓6. Emotional balance and poise.
7. Integrated self-expression.

1. Social adjustability is put first because it is the primary goal in the objectives of the school and it continues as a major objective while the child is slowly maturing and becoming more and more capable of social refinement. It is difficult for a child to find a right balance between self-respect and self-confidence and respect for the rights and values of others. The crucial element in the growth of adjustability is, of course, the development of the self from a little bundle of wants to an integrated personality ready to identify his interests with those of others. It is the responsibility of the school to help children take the role of others, to experience the advantages of social action, and to feel uncomfortable in an unsocial attitude. Social action should include the ordinary courtesies and conventional etiquette; acts of thoughtfulness in and out of school; good sportsmanship in games; skill

in team work; respect for others of different race, nationality, or economic status; sharing in enterprises directed toward human welfare; and many happy relationships with young and old.

2. Intellectual ability has a special place in educational objectives, for it is critical to success in most activities. Yet a great deal of school work goes on with a minimum stimulation of mental capacities. In mass education it is much easier for a teacher to do the thinking, planning, and judging and to reduce the children's responses to repetition of words and simple acts. A child needs to face problems, to dig for facts, and to use his imagination in putting facts together to solve his problems. He must study racial experience as it is recorded in books, in techniques, and in all kinds of historical material, but his appreciation of this body of knowledge will grow as it is related to the ongoing process of living. He should be forced to examine customs, to look for ways of improving things, and to take responsibility for many school tasks outside formal courses. Instead of demanding instant obedience, a teacher should appeal to reason, and, where obedience is required, cause the children to see the social necessity.

3. One of the chief hindrances to the development of thinking is the overcrowded program which most school systems impose upon children. There is no doubt that they should become acquainted with a large body of knowledge and acquire the fundamental skills of reading, writing, and use of numbers. But it might be better if teachers were allowed to spend more time in developing thinking abilities and were responsible only for introducing the child to the sources of knowledge. Instead

of trying to overload his memory with facts that he could get in a moment from an encyclopedia or other books of reference, it would seem more fruitful to let him discover and use these resources. Some facts should be remembered, but the main need is probably to develop historical perspective, and to give him a sense of the inter-relatedness of all knowledge. In the elementary school as well as later, much work is only a mass of isolated fragments of knowledge. If memory work and formal drill in skills gave place to more creative use of facts and solution of significant problems, the child would be more ready to use facts, to test current practices, and to work constructively toward an improved society.

[Language is the means by which the experience of one generation is passed on to another and by which co-operation of persons is possible in the complex relations of modern life. Language is the tool by which we think individually and collectively. It is important that children get skill in the use of language, spoken and written, and that they can use other expressional means, such as drawing, acting, and constructive work. Many never acquire freedom in reading and so have little interest in books and other literature. Modern methods of teaching reading are supposed to facilitate the process, but the test of the efficacy of any method is the degree to which children are eager to read and actually do read well chosen material. A psychological attitude toward reading is as important as the mastery of the mechanics of rapid reading. Children need to cultivate a wide interest in knowledge and to have occasions for using it. It is one thing to read a book and enjoy it, and another to think about it afterward and integrate the knowledge

Language

gained into a working body of ideas and a philosophy of life.

4. Interests and desires relate to the motivating forces of conduct. They refer to those pulls from the outside world which draw on the latent capacities of the child and to the inner urges which are restless for satisfying expression. Education takes the human organism sensitive to certain stimuli, throbbing with life, and the conscious desires which are multiplying with the widening experiences of maturing life, and seeks to use, develop, and organize them as working forces. Growing abilities must be controlled by and operate through socially refined interests and desires. Early interests and wants are narrow, temporary, and the result of chance feelings. Young children tend to be impulsive, unreasonable, without a sense of comparative values and unable to hold their feelings in check. The school has the task of disciplining these tendencies, widening interests, and helping children to master their impulses instead of being victims of them.

Instead of helping the child to discover inherent interests in social activities, in mastering skills, and in gaining knowledge, the school systems often depend upon competitive stimuli, such as marks, relative standings, and rewards. Failure to become interested and to participate according to requirements is met by punishment. Children need to feel a new power when they can read, when they can solve number problems, when they can express themselves satisfactorily. They need to feel a thrill in studying nature, in becoming acquainted with the achievements of other persons in the growth of knowledge and expansions of society, and in listening to

and sharing in musical and other artistic expressions. Sometimes children learn to write letters and never want to write; they study about social change and have no interest in furthering social improvement; they study literature and history and have no desire to push further into these realms of fascinating discovery. In-school and out-of-school experiences and interests are not joined.

5. The development of aesthetic appreciations is the school's attempt to lift life into higher levels, to awaken spiritual values, to push beyond merely utilitarian interests. The growing person will probably gain this sensitivity more by contrasts than by any other way. The *Tenth Yearbook* says that "the urge for the beautiful is a fundamental one in all humanity."²² But another sentence in the same paragraph qualifies this statement: "The aesthete who goes into ecstasies over the canvas of a Raphael and is blind to the ugliness of many sections of our modern cities and to the hideousness of want and misery on the part of large numbers of his fellowmen is actually wanting in culture." There may be a capacity for aesthetic appreciation in all, but the ways in which a person will respond to beauties of nature and of personal and social living will depend upon cultural training. The resources are unlimited, but the achievements in artistic living are slowly attained. The treasures of the ages must be made available, as they are more and more in our museums and in many popular forms, and children should be introduced to them so that a continuing interest is awakened. The beauties of life around them and the possibilities of creating works of beauty should be presented in such a way that they appeal to latent inter-

²² P. 190.

ests rather than that they become associated with irksome tasks. What difference does it make whether a child gets a good mark in music or art or literature? He may get a good mark and hate the subject. Interests and desires are not measured by competitive marks. If teachers as well as pupils were freer to enjoy and to use informally the artistic phases of the school program, we might expect more interests to result from their place in the curriculum.

6. Emotional balance is vital to happy, good-natured dispositions and is a tremendous asset in social relations. There are differences in innate temperamental sensitivities, but emotional characteristics become set by repeated environmental conditionings. Clashes with others in the first school experiences may begin emotional responses which persist unless a wise leader is at hand. Some peculiarities may be laughed at, and the child may shrink back, cry, or become angry. He may be answered sharply or sarcastically by a teacher or be blamed for some fault for which he was not responsible, and a sense of injustice may rankle or bitterness or fear may arise. Some children are dull and easily discouraged; some are bright and high strung; some are not well and irritable. A teacher has to be on guard to allow for individual differences and to aid children in self-control. Every child needs a certain measure of success to maintain self-respect, but he must also know how to meet failure without discouragement.

Sometimes glandular disturbances are responsible for emotional instability, and a teacher must be assisted by adequate medical advice. When society recognizes the close relation between healthy bodies and healthy minds and dispositions, more money will be spent upon physical

examinations and psychiatric counseling. Emotional disturbances are at the root of all kinds of delinquency, crime, insanity, and social trouble. In the early school years tendencies should be discovered and emotional balance built up. Physical health is one important factor; school discipline which recognizes individual differences is another. A child can be taught how to control most of his emotions, how to hold impulses in check while he considers alternatives, and how to plan experiences which will promote the healthiest expressions of his emotional tendencies.

7. The last personality characteristic to be discussed as a school product is integrated self-expression. A child tends to develop a number of more or less unrelated selves, with habits and attitudes which vary greatly in different situations. Children need to be watched to discover how far they are integrated and in what ways they tend to behave differently in different classrooms and playground situations. Teachers and administrators should view different expressions of conduct dispassionately and help children to criticize their own actions and develop a desire to do their best in every place. A child should not feel it necessary to bluff, lie, deceive, steal, or behave unsocially. Instead of working for marks or trying to get ahead of someone else, children should find inherent interests in many phases of school life. Each one should come to a fair appraisal of his own possibilities, his own worth, and have the ambition to do something worth while. To the degree that children experience consuming interests in their school program or in a larger life-program, they will become integrated. It is not desirable to let them become so interested in one or two

interests that they dwarf their possible self-expression, but individual differences should be recognized and encouraged. It is impossible to integrate growing persons around little interests. Child interests are likely to fade out unless wise and understanding guidance helps to enlarge the vision, to improve the skills, and to give social support. The end point of education is to help children find worthy goals in life, to expand individual and social interests, to stimulate desires to achieve their possibilities, and to train them to master themselves and their circumstances in school and later life. The end point is persons, not processes.

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CHAPTER IX

GROWTH IN MORAL DISCRIMINATION

Moral behavior is dependent upon social sensitivity. It is not an innate tendency or merely comprehension of social rules. Morality is the self-regulation of conduct with due consideration for both one's own welfare and the welfare of others. It is a by-product of social living and grows with an expanding appreciation of conditions which promote the common good. One cannot be moral until one recognizes the social consequence of one's acts, and one is moral to the degree that one controls one's conduct with concern for these consequences. The baby begins as an amoral individual, gradually achieves capacity to control his acts in the light of social outcomes, slowly appreciates the reasons involved, and, if conditions are favorable, develops moral desires and habits.

The ordinary social environment does not make it easy for a child to develop moral principles or to regulate his conduct by those he approves. He finds too many glaring inconsistencies. Because of inability to state absolute concepts of right and wrong, it is difficult to teach morality. Differences in right and wrong vary with the situations, and a child cannot see the subtle differences. He may catch a general principle and try to apply it only to find that the literal application does not work. When he fails to recognize a variant situation a little child may blame an adult for inconsistency.

Speaking generally, one may say that an act is right to the degree that it furthers the rights and welfare of

all those involved in the act and that it is wrong to the degree that it hinders welfare and growth of anyone. The common good becomes meaningful and significant to a child in so far as he comes to identify his own interests with it. He must see beyond the immediate situation and feel the larger good. Children can do this only to a very limited extent, and therefore the standards of an adult cannot be applied to their words or actions. At all times their appreciations and capacities for social response are necessarily much less than those of their parents or teachers. One cannot emphasize too much the relative character of right and wrong in dealing with children. It is easy to confuse and discourage honest efforts to be good, but it is easy, also, to let children become satisfied with too low a standard of achievement, with no incentive to improve their social relationships.

Society can never impose its moral standards upon a child and make him moral. It may make a child obedient and compel conformity to certain approved ways, but it does not make him moral by the experience. Each growing person must learn for himself the values inherent in social conduct and must control his conduct by reason of experienced and expected social outcomes. If a child does not discover that co-operation gives larger satisfaction than parasitical behavior and so develop social desires and skills, he will not achieve moral status. The kinds of social experience and satisfactions which he shares will determine in large part the kind of moral character he attains. Good and bad, high and low, and right and wrong are relative to the intellectual and cultural advance of the individual and of the groups with which he lives. To the degree that there is conflict in the

responses which a child experiences he will tend to be confused and will lack social support for any high endeavor. However, conflict is inevitable and may be regarded as an essential part of the learning process. Contrasts stir meanings, and as long as the balance is in the right direction he can be trusted to work his way through. At any rate, no one else can do it for him, and the best the educator can do is to furnish as many happy and desirable kinds of social experience as possible.

As a consequence of the varying moral factors in a child's growing experience, we cannot expect any uniform development. He may learn to be honest in many situations and yet be deceitful in others; he may learn to be thoughtful of others and yet be a cheerful liar in an act of kindness; he may be prompt in accepting a responsibility and yet be very careless in its execution; he may be tender and sympathetic in his attitude to a dumb animal and cruel to a playmate—he may be inconsistent in any number of ways. His behavior depends upon many complex factors. Very slowly does he comprehend the social meaning and consequence of many of his acts; many different patterns of behavior are set before him, and it is uncertain which may appeal to him; different motives are likely to operate under different conditions; physical and mental states vary greatly in very short periods; a child is not a well-organized personality and is extremely sensitive to environmental influences.

There are undoubtedly stages in a child's moral growth which may be more or less identified, and different authors have attempted to describe them.¹ The maturation

¹ J. Dewey and J. H. Tufts mark three levels of behavior: (1) Behavior motivated by various biological, economic, and other nonmoral

of different qualities varies greatly from individual to individual. It seems better, therefore, in a study of this kind to call attention to different phases of developing moral character than to try to mark off stages of moral attainment. Any attempt to measure moral growth must take into consideration the variant factors in the total growth process.

The writer defines six general phases of moral development which seem of primary significance as the child matures and as his social relationships take on more and deeper meanings. They are not exclusive, and at each stage of growth all will be found operating to greater or less degree. They are not independent separable elements but only phases of a total process.

The first and foundational characteristic is the biological reaction of the organism owing to organic needs and to stimuli of the environment. This response is differentiated because of the innate and acquired preferential sensitivities of the organism. The type of response is called "nonmoral," but it is basic to all moral behavior, for growth in discrimination comes by conditioning of the first forms of response. Complex social adjustments and

impulses and needs; (2) behavior following the mores of the group, manifesting little reflection; and (3) behavior based upon individual judgment and involving criticism of group conduct (*Ethics* [rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1932], p. 7).

Jean Piaget recognizes five stages of moral growth: (1) Habit level in which emotional satisfactions are prominent; (2) conformity to adult requirements; (3) mutual adjustment of equals; (4) appreciation of underlying motives; and (5) codification of rules, principles, and ideals (*The Moral Judgment of the Child* [New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1932], pp. 16 ff.). Cf. E. A. Lincoln and F. J. Shields, "An Age-Scale for Measurement of Moral Judgment," *Journal of Educational Research*, March, 1931.

subtle moral distinctions are undoubtedly affected by innate organic discriminations. Psychic meanings are interpretations of organic feelings. His own physical and mental needs and the necessary adjustments for functioning in a physical-social world initiate his actions, but some must be inhibited and some must be given a sublimated form. He may follow the line of least resistance or he may persist in spite of discouragements and without consideration of what society calls right and wrong. Temperament and acquired disposition have much to do with his decisions and actions.

What a child needs in this phase is an orderly, consistent home training with due respect for his immaturity and needs as a growing personality. If a child does not feel sure of the understanding and sympathy of his parents and if he finds discipline too severe, he may resort to a compensatory technique to gain his ends. He may have temper tantrums, act stubbornly, whine, cry, or coax, as he finds fruitful results. And habits of this kind are likely to persist, for they will not be outgrown without reflection and discovery of more satisfactory forms. Within the period of childhood this impulsive, nonsocial, nonmoral type of behavior will struggle against control by either social compulsions or social ideals.

The second phase to be considered is that which parallels mental growth. As the child gains ability to hold alternatives in mind and to visualize the consequences of different ways of behaving, he can govern his conduct by aid of memory, relative values, and foresight. Recognition of possible consequences is fundamental to all forms of moral action, but ability to foresee does not mean

readiness to inhibit impulses. The habit of reflection grows slowly and is likely to be neglected when emotions are stirred and quick response is profitable. Some children have a nervous organization that tends to quicker reaction than others, and they are likely to act first and think afterward. Reflection and control of impulses may not be a sign of deeper appreciation of consequences but of a phlegmatic organic condition. The only way a child will make intelligent choices is to practice doing so; and, as he grows, he can be given experience in the most ordinary situations. A little girl of two years had a plate of cookies passed to her. She reached for one, took it, then started to put it back to take another that appealed to her fancy. Her mother stopped her, saying, "No! No! Miriam, you chose that cookie, and that is your cookie. We don't handle other people's cookies." The child learned her lesson and was careful next time to look over the plate before she acted. She had a lesson in making choices by forethought of consequences. Some parents give no choice but arbitrarily decide what a child may do and have. Some try to anticipate a child's wants, his possible actions, and the likely consequences. While it is wise to protect the child in his early years, he cannot learn without taking chances. He should have freedom to explore, to experiment, and to discover for himself the laws of his physical and his social world. He will soon find that freedom has narrow limits, that social laws are often arbitrary, and that he must adjust himself to things as they are. Bühler says that by nine years of age a child will be able to criticize his own actions and attitudes in quite an objective way and, in the period

from nine to twelve, will gain in logical, critical thinking.² This is important, for the child must assume more and more responsibility for his social acts, and greater expectations must be placed upon him.

Piaget believes that in the earlier years a child tends to depend upon adult authority, and only after seven or eight years of age does he raise questions as to the justice of an act. He may rebel against something which interferes with his pleasure, but he does not see the alternatives and doubt the authority in the earlier years.³ If this is true, the degree of moral discrimination is limited by the exercise of intellectual discernment of alternatives, and too much cannot be expected before seven or eight. One evidence supporting this is the tendency to rationalize and to invent reasons for conduct when challenged. Instead of analyzing the situation, a child may try to adjust himself to the person and describe the situation as he wants it to be seen. It may take more humility than a child has to evaluate a situation and acknowledge a mistake. He is struggling to maintain social status, and it is probably too much to expect an adverse judgment on himself. If the child six to eight does try to conform to a rule, he does so literally, without appreciating the underlying motive. The social consequences are not in the picture and so do not influence his conduct. Rules are but a part of the adult superiority and are to be met in the most strategic way possible. Piaget thinks the child gets a real value for rules when he uses them in relations with those of his own age and makes and modi-

² C. Bühler, *From Birth to Maturity* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1935), p. 127.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 106 and 314.

fies them at will. When rules are imposed upon the child before he comprehends them, tensions easily arise and the emotional sets tend to prevent the child from seeing the justice of them. As he gets older, he can understand better the reasons for rules and, by ten or eleven, should be able to understand the underlying principle and value for social responsibilities with which he has to deal. Parents and teachers can help him to think a situation through, make his decision on what is the best thing to do, and offer him co-operation to effect it. It is easier for him to deal fairly with all the facts, especially when his welfare is at stake, if he knows he can obtain help. Often the child does not have time to think or friendly assistance in thinking. Many children have too many things to do and, in straining to keep up, follow the crowd and think critically only when forced to do so. Life presents one duty after another, one problem after another; and, when the child misses the mark in one place, he hopes to do better next time but cannot take his errors too seriously.

The third phase of moral development follows the organization of the self-conscious personality. As we have shown in the first chapter, the child begins by organizing little selves around special activities and interests. The interrelation of these selves is expedited by the growth of the self-reflective capacity. As he takes the role of others, he not only gets a feeling for their values but finds a basis for judgment upon his own acts.

Sometimes the young child is described as being egocentric, without any social sensitivity. But Bühler is probably more correct in acknowledging this self-assertion as a natural way of growth, at the same time recognizing that the child also has a strong drive in the direc-

tion of other people.⁴ The tendency to seek one's own ends and to look at things from one's own point of view is true all through life. It is not necessarily inconsistent with a social outlook. By two years of age a child may find it profitable to act socially rather than to demand his own way regardless of the rights of others. He must learn to express himself satisfactorily and at the same time be interested in giving others a similar chance. The ancient adage "Love your neighbor as yourself" assumes that a person will have self-respect and self-interest and will treat others as he would like to be treated.

Every nursery school has illustrations of overdeveloped egocentric habits as well as socialized conduct. Miss Cleveland, of the Merrill-Palmer School, tells of a little girl spoiled by home training, who demanded the center of the stage when she came to the nursery school. The other children refused to give it to her and expressed their disapproval by shutting her out of their games. This was a new experience for the child, and at first she did not know what to do. By skilful assistance the teachers helped her to adjust herself, and she soon found welcome in the group and a new satisfaction in democratic play.⁵ Miss Vincent describes another child who came from a home where four fond grandparents might have spoiled him, for he was the youngest of three and an attractive child. The mother, however, had exercised a firm discipline, allowing no special favors by the grandparents. At nineteen months this boy was admitted to the nursery school and was at home in the

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁵ E. Cleveland, *Training the Toddler* (New York: Lippincott, 1925), p. III.

group at once, showing no objectionable egocentric habits or attitudes.⁶

Often the only child has more attention and fewer give-and-take experiences than children of larger families; but a child can learn to be social with adults as well as with children of his own age. There is danger of suppressing a child as well as of allowing uncontrolled self-expression. The "only" child may be overawed by adults, but sometimes a large family may be in subjection to one or both parents. Continually to restrict a child who is trying to find himself and to prove his worth is worse than to take a *laissez faire* attitude toward him. An aggressive child will be disciplined by his associates and gradually socialized; but a suppressed child will tend to apologize for his existence, and others will trample on him, or he may try to compensate by some foolish or vicious form of conduct. Strong personalities grow in the struggle to maintain status in a group of peers. Weaker ones must be helped to reach their highest capacities, and the stronger should feel a responsibility for them. Morality among equals might be a by-product of struggle, but the average situation does not present a fair test of equals, and morality must always include a good deal of generosity. Children have to learn to allow for the limitations of younger ones, for physical and mental handicaps, for social and economic differences. They must take the role of each and everyone they meet, seeking the greatest common good. Once this attitude is assumed, a child will discover more satisfaction in adjustments to persons of varied ability and need than in blindly striking out for his own advantage.

⁶ E. L. Vincent, *Paul* (Detroit: Merrill-Palmer School, 1927).

The fourth phase of growing morality comes with the enlarging capacity to generalize and to transfer an experience to another situation. This is dependent upon the development of language skills, for verbal concepts permit experiences to be recalled, thus aiding in generalization. A word or phrase may serve as an index to an accumulation of experiences and may indicate a value judgment upon a series of events. While specific responses may be made to specific elements of a situation, the ordinary reaction is to a total complex situation in which the relations are as significant as the elements. Practice in one type of response may aid in meeting a new adjustment if the child is taught to analyze the reasons for social action of various kinds and is ready to see similarities. Rules and principles may emerge from concrete studies and should arouse vivid imagery to aid in effective functioning. The mere repetition of a moral precept will not condition a child's behavior, but a precept may have such associations that one will at once visualize a desirable form of behavior. Members of a play group who are taught to take turns on an apparatus will quickly advise a newcomer of the rule, and many times an observer will see children check themselves and give another his turn. A little child of two, taught to say "Thank you" when given something by another, was heard teaching a playmate to do the same when she gave him something. "Say 'Thank you,' Jimmie; you always say 'Thank you' when somebody gives you something." Rules are valuable when a series of pictures or a definite response flashes into a child's mind to aid him in an adjustment.

However, few social situations requiring moral dis-

crimination are so simple that they can be solved by recall of one principle. The complexity of factors involved in a moral act may be illustrated by considering the possible influences upon a child in a situation involving honesty. He may tend to take the role of the other person and feel his interest in and concern for the particular property in question; he may remind himself of another time when the other person took some of his things; he may want the property for some special reason and feel that it means very little to the other person; he may recall the teaching "Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you"; he may feel the expectancy of a parent, teacher, or friend and want his approval; he may be afraid to take it, remembering a punishment given on another occasion for taking what did not belong to him; he may want some excitement and feel he can start some fun by taking it. No adult can tell what is going on in a child's mind or imagination when he is facing a moral test. Mere exhortations to be good, even when emotionalized, have little effect. Moral capacity grows by attaining abstract general conceptions, but it takes many concrete experiences to make these abstractions motivating realities. Ultimate ends must become as vital as immediate gains and satisfying outcomes be realized repeatedly to reinforce and renew general purposes.

Flexibility is the essence of all effective rules and moral principles. The very young child makes his own rules for his play, and they vary with each changing situation. Soon he finds that older people expect him to observe their rules, and he tends to state them as absolutes. He tries to adjust himself to these fixed rules only to find that

there are exceptions at every turn. As he attempts to take advantage of exceptions he learns that the wishes of older persons are more important than any rules, and so he adjusts himself to the controlling person and ignores the verbal principles. Lacking stability, he may experiment with rules, using the oft-repeated ones or making rules of his own. As he grows older, he will find that, in group play, rules may be made and remade to fit the desires of a leader or of a majority. In this whole series of experiences he needs guidance so that the fundamental basis for social adjustments will be appreciated. The important thing is to respect the rights of all persons, to compromise where the common good is involved, and to recognize changing conditions which demand changing personal relationships. To attempt to enforce arbitrary rules, or to state absolute moral principles, may breed immorality, causing habits of evasion, deceit, dishonesty, and excuse. A child may be told that "honesty is the best policy" only to find that the principle does not work in the next situation that he meets. The end point in training a child in morality is not to verify abstract codes but to help a growing child evaluate social relations so that he will feel the general trend of social behavior and see that, even when a compromise is made for expediency, a growing desire for the better way is kept in the background.

The fifth phase carries this last principle forward. Only as children learn to transcend the ordinary social compromises and develop desires for social improvement will progress be made. They can appreciate the differences between the common forms of social behavior, those which give special attention to individual needs, and

those which seek the largest good of all. While they may tend to use precedents as an excuse for doing less than their best, they may also be stimulated to use them as possible marks of attainment. Beginnings in idealization come with appreciation of the better forms in contrasting conduct. If a child gets more satisfaction in an antisocial act or a mediocre form of behavior, he will tend to repeat it. If he finds happy associations with persons of superior moral character, he may seek to emulate them. The balance in either direction is influenced by factors which an adult will often fail to understand. Sometimes stories or biographical sketches of thrilling and unselfish conduct may stir his imagination and awaken ideals. By eleven years of age children should have some definite expectations of improvement in the social order and desire to share in working for some particular goals. They should have a growing pride in proving their capacity to transcend common standards and to count among those who do things differently. For instance, in school a frequent pose is to pretend to do only as much as is required, but a boy or girl has not become a responsible person until he or she has sufficient interest in school activities to set goals independent of minimum requirements. Each should feel certain needs, values, and possibilities and have a desire and purpose to work for a significant objective.

One of the greatest hindrances to development of this more idealistic behavior is that so many adults are accustomed to accept things as they are, to follow the line of least resistance, and to smile cynically upon an exception. Children need the moral support of others to strengthen their ambitions, and illustrations of achievements that

have made a significant difference in social relationships. It is not enough to pick out the few great characters of a country, like Abraham Lincoln and Jane Addams. Children must see the occasions when ordinary people transcend the common ways and realize their better selves. Morality is something more than following the mores: it involves making mores. This is achieved by families who show special regard for one another, characterizing as bad social form attitudes of disrespect for others. Worth can be noted in servants, in associates, in persons of different race and social status. Traditions of honesty, regard for the property of others, courtesy, cleanliness, and other desirable social standards may be built up in homes, schools, and neighborhoods. Social expectancy is a powerful influence and may be of a degrading or uplifting kind. In educating children for higher moral standards, attention must be given to the older generation as well.

One other phase must be added—the cultivation of a sense of collective responsibility. What has been said above has been directed primarily to the achievement of individual morality. But a large part of life is shared, and it is essential that children shall feel themselves a responsible part of each group to which they belong. A home is something more than a collection of individuals, and likewise a neighborhood, a school, a city, a nation, a club, or an organization of any kind. Each member of a group must accept responsibility for the acts of the group as a whole. The frequent tendency to regard a group as an impersonal body which can be manipulated to the advantage of individuals must be corrected. Human welfare is bound up in group life. Right and wrong—individual or collective—is based upon personality outcomes. It is easy

to become so accustomed to group customs that the question of right or wrong is not raised or, if raised, is quickly forgotten. Children should be taught to criticize group conduct, to appreciate social forms which have added to human welfare, and to feel their responsibility to aid in changing conditions which disregard personality values. They should come to feel that war is not inevitable and is not a supreme test of courage or patriotic loyalty; that poverty for millions of people is not inevitable and is not a necessary by-product of an advancing civilization; that crime and scandal are not to be exploited for degraded minds or selfish profits; that social evils are not to be quietly accepted as necessary concomitants of a free people. Even children can feel the better social possibilities and can see many examples of persons who triumph over difficulties, who co-operate for the common good, and who are in every way a social asset. While much of our present social order is organized upon a basis of "rugged individualism," more operates upon a co-operative level. Selfish interests try to exploit co-operative undertakings and to deprive others of their natural rights, but the strength and progress of civilization is due to united ventures. Schools, road systems, sanitary privileges, parks, postal facilities, hospitals, etc., have long become the taken-for-granted privileges of all advanced communities. Other forms of co-operative projects in larger and larger inclusiveness are found on every side. Small partnerships, big stock companies, and nonprofit organizations all involve mutual service and common welfare. Children must be taught the social obligations and the use and misuse of co-operative power.

One of the most interesting examples of how children

may be vitally related to the improvement of a social order and develop motives that are collective rather than individualistic is seen in the training of children in Soviet Russia. In their earliest years they are made to feel that the honor and success of the republics are in their charge. Betrayal of the common good is a crime, and each one is responsible for preventing it. Contrasts are pictured so that the differences are real and vital, and unselfish leaders are the heroes of the nation. In America the average child is so accustomed to hearing of flagrant betrayals of political trust and of scandal in high places that he takes them as a matter of course. Political candidates charge one another of crimes against the common good, and no one does anything about them. In America, the country which boasts of its freedom, there are many people who feel that it is useless to expect justice and who have lost faith in the honesty and unselfishness of business and political leaders. Instead of teaching children that the supreme test of patriotism is readiness to die for one's country, to preserve the *status quo*, we must give them a vision of possible changes that make it worth while investing one's life for one's country. It will be a tragedy if idealism becomes associated only with revolution. Leaders must make unselfishness the regular order of the common life instead of a dying gesture of generosity. Too many have made the accumulation of property instead of the proved worth of an individual to his fellowmen the end point of a successful life. The mere achievement of power in a highly organized country like America is quite secondary to the wise use of that power. Children may evaluate conduct best in the light of the finest examples of unselfish service in every walk of life. Thus we have a scientist who makes a

discovery and dedicates it to the common good instead of capitalizing on it for selfish profit; a lawyer who risks his name and gives up the opportunity for a big fee in defending a criminal to champion the cause of an ostracized and oppressed person; a business man who limits the profits of his business in a definite purpose to serve his fellowmen; a political leader who faithfully persists in fighting for a cause and defies his critics to accuse him of dishonesty; a mechanic who has a pride in his workmanship and asks only a decent living wage; a garbage man who does his job well and finds a hobby in creating beautiful things; a teacher whose life is an endless source of inspiration to his students; a store clerk whose smile and friendly efficient service makes the day brighter for all who meet him. The servants of the common good are innumerable, and they need but to be identified to be honored. Let the headlines of our newspapers give respect to the accomplishments which further human welfare and let them cease to besmirch the imagination of our young citizens.

Every juvenile court and child-guidance clinic give abundant evidence to the sad fact that many homes and neighborhoods damn children rather than uplift them. Problem children with dwarfed and malformed moral sensibilities are the product in most cases of ignorant or immoral environments. Struggling to exist, fighting like wild animals to gain anything, thousands of children are tutored in crime by their playmates and by older persons. Every city has children of five years and up who are repeatedly in trouble and have scarcely a friend to care or to help them. Before they understand the social significance of their acts, they may be adepts in crime. Moral lapses are inevitable, even in the best homes and com-

munities. While a child may learn to function satisfactorily in one or more areas of his social duties, he may fail in others. Lying, for instance, is a common technique for all youngsters. Trying to meet the approval of some older person or to maintain status in one's own group, a child is likely to make the situation appear as favorable as possible, without any concern for the facts. Up to seven or eight this is to be expected, and a lie should not disturb too much the emotional equilibrium of an adult. When a child does tell the truth, he should be commended, and, when he lies his error should be analyzed without emotion. From nine to twelve the social significance of truth should be more evident, and in a healthy social environment the child will take a pride in keeping to the facts. When a child's faults are more a result of his environment than of failure to make good in what he knows and can do, society must work on the environment as well as on the child. Yet the child cannot be excused but must be helped to overcome his handicaps.

The child's point of view should be sought in every conflict situation. A third-grade child colored a school paper, took it home, and was complimented by her parents. She did not tell her parents that the teacher had forbidden this coloring and that she had accomplished it in spite of the arbitrary command. Was the act immoral? No harm was done to property, time was better spent in coloring than in idleness, the child's ability was demonstrated to the parents, and the child was skilful enough not to annoy the teacher. The teacher's arbitrary rule was discovered by the parents through a chance remark of a playmate. Before any adequate improvement could be made in such a case, there would need to be a conference

between parents, teacher, and a principal with good educational outlook. It is unreasonable for adults to expect a moral response to an unreasonable demand.

A number of studies has been made as to the relation between intelligence and moral behavior. The conclusions seem to be that mental ability is a significant factor but that the correlations are not high. Other factors are so influential that it cannot be regarded as the main determiner. In reviewing the findings of research on "Children's Morals," Vernon Jones notes that Terman found that at least one out of every five gifted children that he investigated had more moral faults than the average of the general population; that Hartshorne and May discovered a correlation of .397 between intelligence and honesty when home background was statistically considered; and that in Burt's studies of delinquency there was a larger percentage of inferior intelligence among delinquents than in the general population, but a considerable proportion were of superior intellect. While intelligence seems to have a positive correlation with moral behavior, many other factors associated with mental differences are also acting and cannot be separated.⁷ It is evident that intelligence is needed to discriminate between higher and lower forms of conduct, to foresee the consequences, and to analyze a given situation into its significant social issues. While most of a person's conduct may be guided by conventional mores, progress depends upon revision of conventional practices and requires keen judgment.

A child's knowledge of right and wrong is made up of

⁷ C. Murchison, *Handbook of Child Psychology* (Worcester: Clark University Press, 1931), chap. xiii.

(1) bits of experience more or less vividly recalled in which specific forms of conduct were approved or disapproved; (2) terms like "good," "bad," "better," "worse," "selfish," "unselfish," "kind," "cruel," "generous," "mean," and other moral designates which have varied associations in them; (3) verbalizations of social attitudes in precepts and slogans which have certain indication in them of social direction and social standards; (4) memories of emotional reactions in social adjustments where scruples were called in question, or conflict of wills ensued; and (5) contrasting objectives and behaviors of different persons in similar situations. Functioning knowledge does not come to the child by learning codes, or listening to stories, but by guidance in practice where analyses give a true sense of social worth and moral meaning. This is more than a negative attitude toward undesirable attitudes and actions or a casual approval of a socially approved form. It involves a felt value which furthers a live interest.

The fundamental drives of life are the organic needs, instinctive tendencies, dominating desires, and social pressures. A child may inhibit a desire, but it still remains and operates to a greater or less degree in the emotional reactions of the total situation. Many maladjustments and delinquencies like temper, lying, stealing, deceit, truancy, and profanity are self-defense mechanisms to compensate for unfulfilled desires or to escape from some unsatisfactory outcome. Mixed motives are seen even in young children, for the human capacity is large, and the social situations are complex. Adjustments require a co-operative functioning of many tendencies driven by different motivations. Thus a child of six wants to go out to play after supper. Several factors may work together to make his going urgent and to cause keen emo-

tion if prevented. He may know it is nearly bedtime and, if he stays in, he will be sent to bed sooner than if he gets out of sight. He may want to do what his older brother or sister is doing and be jealous of their privileges. He may know that some playmates are playing a game of which he is fond, and want to get into it. He may know that his father is indulgent and his mother is strict and that each time he causes a conflict their dispute over him is amusing. He may want to see how long he can stay up if he has a good excuse. If he uses deceit or disobeys a command or breaks a promise or does something else, where will one start to correct the situation? Motives are operating and will continue to operate in the delinquent direction unless checked or offset by other motives. To steer children requires patience and keen understanding.

Adults usually try to correct faults by punishments which ignore motives. Jean Piaget says that punishment is the child's criterion of the parent's feeling as to the gravity of an offense.⁸ He may not understand what is wrong in his earlier, or even in his later years, unless his disciplinarians are slow to act and consistent in their restrictions and punishments. Instead of seeing the wrong for which he is punished, a child may only feel that it is necessary to be more careful next time. There is a sentimental opposition to corporal punishment on the part of some persons. Yet mental and emotional suffering may be more acute than bodily pain, and the effect upon the personality more injurious. A young child may be checked by a spank more quickly than by a scolding or attempt to shame him. He may make a better adjustment after a spanking than after much "speaking to."

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 165.

As he gets older, a rational appeal should be more effective, but there is a distinct question as to whether, with some dispositions and under certain states of mind, anything but corporal punishment will effect a change. One thing is certain—self-respect is no more injured by bodily punishment than by other forms. The chief need is patience and time, both of which seem to be lacking in many social situations.

Rewards may deflect attention from the consequences of an act as easily or more easily than punishment. In building up desirable habits and standards of conduct, we need to help a child discover inherent values which should make him willing and anxious to behave wisely. If a reward aids in developing happy associations and does not become the chief end, it may serve as a temporary expedient for younger children in establishing habits. Artificial rewards may be the worst thing that can be given a child. A child of mediocre intelligence was urged by her parents to make a good mark at school. The parents felt it was a disgrace to them if she did not excel, and from the first grade on she was overstimulated. She felt the strain and began to compensate by cheating and lying as occasions seemed to warrant. Not succeeding well along that line, she feigned sickness and took every opportunity to stay away from school, making her problem more difficult thereby. She wanted approval more than the rewards, but the rewards were sometimes so great that they were entirely unfair to her moral maturity. Even when rewards are carefully given, a child has a tendency to depend upon a stimulus of this kind if an adult makes a practice of using some exterior incentive. Self-initiated and carefully evaluated conduct does not grow out of bribed activity.

The term "conscience" no longer carries the earlier implications of a mysterious inborn faculty giving a person power of moral discrimination. A scientifically educated person does not assume direct guidance by a supernatural god who watches over each individual and tries to keep him sensitive to the ways of righteousness. No one with a feeling for the law and order of an infinite universe can hold such a childish view of the world or of the governing power in that world. When used at all, the term "conscience" tends to refer to acquired social sensitivity and comprehension of moral standards. Sometimes it is treated as a censor among the selves of the developing personality, the self which has become most socialized and which applies the most searching principles of conduct to each and every situation. Perhaps the term may indicate the moral maturity of the individual, the degree to which he has become unified in his moral outlook, habits, and attitudes. At any rate, it is not to be thought of apart from the disciplined experience of an individual, as it is shaped and modified by his social environment, and operates through a more or less self-controlled personality.

Sometimes a form of tension is interpreted as conscience, but usually it is far from it. A child caught in a lie, deceit, dishonesty, or any disapproved conduct may show embarrassment, not knowing how to meet the disapproval, but the emotion may not involve much moral sensitivity. Young children do not analyze their motives and seldom worry over the outcome as it affects others. They are kept busy making satisfactory adjustments for their own needs and problems. Punishment may give them an index to social or moral error, but it takes maturity to appreciate the underlying principles and to develop desires to live by an inner consistency. The founda-

tions of moral conduct are laid early, the meanings are acquired slowly, the organization of experience into a philosophy is a mark of maturity, and the practice is a proof of superior social support. The educator must be able to identify the types of experience which make a significant difference in the first beginnings of social sensitivity, help the child see the contrasting differences between inferior and superior moral conduct, stimulate critical attitudes and a large, well-interrelated view of life, and guide him into as many helpful group activities as possible where individual goals and standards are tempered and strengthened by vigorous associates. A strong moral character must be independent, but independence cannot march ahead of maturing capacities without tragedy. Adults should give children as much freedom and responsibility as they can use to advantage, but in a complex social world trial and error is a costly educational procedure. Well-planned guidance with clear goals for individual and social gains are essential.

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CHAPTER X

SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGION

There are many different ideas about religion and all degrees of devotion to its traditions, beliefs, and practices. The place that one will give it in a child's education will depend upon how one thinks and feels concerning its meaning and importance. Very often it is conceived of in theological terms and in relation to a sectarian pattern. When the question is raised as to the possible values of religion for growing persons, many at once think of Bible study, going to church, loyalty to certain ecclesiastical beliefs and practices, and a few inevitable theological doctrines. In order to develop unquestioning loyalty, some would indoctrinate a child as early as possible. Most adults fail to appreciate the fact that their religion is an accumulation of experiences and that it is impossible to transfer to a child an adult attitude and meaning. If an adult would think sympathetically with a child, he should be ready to:

1. Rethink his ideas of religion and put them in functional language. Without attempting to be all-comprehensive, he must identify the central factors and relate them to everyday happenings in life
2. Identify the best expressions of the spirit of religion and give a child opportunity to experience them and to feel the contrasts when these values are ignored or debased
3. Show how some people are endeavoring to put the ideals of religion into practice at home, in school, at church, and in other social relations. Without any false pretense, he must be able to help a child to see attainments even where imperfections are

most apparent. A child should be encouraged by seeing honest effort given recognition and by having ideals placed within the range of his capacities. Religion must be seen as it functions in common life

When an adult has lost interest in the religion of his childhood and has failed to find satisfying modern conceptions, he is likely to be skeptical or even cynical about the values of religion for a child. Many parents, teachers, and adult acquaintances show indifference and sometimes hostility toward all forms of religion. Children tend to reflect these attitudes and to assume an unconcern or disrespect for religious beliefs and institutions. It is unfortunate when children become prejudiced before they have opportunity to know the great racial qualities of religion. Some parents say that their children should be allowed to decide for themselves in all matters of religion, but they forget that they are affecting their attitudes and opportunities to think without prejudice by the examples they give and the unconscious conditioning that goes on continually in the chance contacts with religion and irreligion. Children need guidance in this phase of racial experience as well as any other. Parents must be discriminating if they wish their children to exercise discrimination. Religion represents the highest social values of mankind, and an intelligent person should be able to separate the wheat from the chaff.

Much of the ordinary church experience and religious training is useless if not harmful. An educator should be able to look at facts without losing sight of abiding values. A few years ago Professor Betts, of Northwestern University, sent out a questionnaire to a number of ministers, directors of religious education, and prominent laymen of

the church. His first question was: "Do our churches to-day teach and preach a religion that can effectively influence conduct and character?" He received answers from three hundred persons, and the responses were distributed as shown in Table 3. The comments were an even greater revelation of the lack of conviction on the

TABLE 3

GROUP	PERCENTAGE		
	Yes	No	Qualified
Ministers.....	28	45	27
Directors of religious education.....	28	36	36
Members of overhead denominational organizations	27	20	53
Professors in colleges and seminaries.....	29	34	37
Laymen active in the church.....	25	50	25
Combined total.....	28	36	36

part of church leaders as to the moral effectiveness of the work of the church.¹

After testing about 11,000 children eight to sixteen years of age, and getting accurate data upon their background, habits, tendencies, and achievements, Hartshorne and May came to such conclusions as the following in the matter of religious influences:

1. Those enrolled in Protestant Sunday schools cheat less than those not enrolled. The difference however was slight and might be accounted for in the ordinary tendency of Sunday schools to draw from the upper stratum of society. No relation was

¹ G. H. Betts, *The Character Outcomes of Present-Day Religion* (New York, 1931), p. 12. By permission of the Abingdon Press, publishers.

found in the statistical computations between Sunday-school attendance and deception. Children who attended regularly cheated in the tests about the same as those who rarely or never attended²

2. The correlation between length of attendance and readiness to give service to others was only .10, and in one community those who had been in Sunday school for eight or more years were found to be less co-operative than the rest³

These investigators do not find any clear evidence that Sunday-school teaching and other church influences have contributed anything significant for the control of children's conduct. Whatever else the church may have done for the child, specific moral situations have not been prepared for.

This is not surprising, for the average church teaching is confined to one hour a week, teachers are untrained, and subject matter is usually ancient history. It is difficult for the ordinary teacher in the allotted time to orient pupils in the social situations of Bible times, then help them to see, much less to use, the vital principles for everyday living. It is also futile to expect the teacher to do much in developing ideals and moral control in the few contacts provided in the ordinary church program. Further, this program is divorced from the regular interests of children, and even its language is archaic and peculiar. Until religion is stated in terms of a child's everyday experiences and growing interpretation of life, it will not shape his desires, attitudes, or habits.

A recent attempt to get a volume of illustrations of

² H. Hartshorne and M. May, *Studies in Deceit* (New York, 1928), p. 411. By permission of the Macmillan Co., publishers.

³ *Studies in Service and Self-control* (New York, 1929), p. 268. By permission of the Macmillan Co., publishers.

good creative religious teaching led to a sad revelation of its paucity in our church schools. The investigators made inquiry for the most promising situations, visited more than one hundred and fifty churches and made a careful study of recommended classes, but found only two cases which could be included satisfactorily in the report.⁴ The truth of this may be confirmed by anyone willing to make a random or selected sampling of teaching situations.

A survey of materials and methods used in Protestant religious education has led A. H. MacLean to say that most children are taught by a system of indoctrination in which there is no adequate discussion of the bases for current concepts of God. Children's ideas changed little from nine to middle adolescence, and their answers showed fantastic notions and vague general ideas. In lesson materials difficulties were minimized or postponed but seldom critically treated.⁵

In replies to a questionnaire sent to representative ministers and students of five denominations, we have some suggestions of the conditions under which children get their religious instruction (480 ministers and 240 students):

33 per cent of the ministers and 25 per cent of the students would teach that God is angry when we do wrong

16 per cent of the ministers and 6 per cent of the students (except for one seminary) would teach that God sends storms, earthquakes, and sickness to punish people for their sins

⁴ H. Hartshorne and E. Lotz, *Case Studies of Present-Day Religious Teaching* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).

⁵ *The Idea of God in Protestant Religious Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930).

43 per cent of the ministers and 11 per cent of the students would teach that Jesus made the world

72 per cent of the ministers and 39 per cent of the students would teach that Jesus is God

63 per cent of the Baptists and 71 per cent of the Lutherans said everything in the Bible literally happened just as described⁶

With such nonscientific attitudes and naïve beliefs it is not strange that religion as taught has little influence upon the conduct of children growing up in a world where superstitious and magical ideas are continually decreasing. Only a few said they used the threat of hell to discourage wrongdoing, but a considerable number tried to instil a fear of an angry God overshadowing us at all times. No indication was given that right should make its own appeal by its inherent values.

Children have many problems as to the organization of the world and the consequences of different forms of behavior. They need help to build a consistent picture of an orderly, dependable world and to develop social relationships in accordance with religious ideals. Some think that children do not need the word God before nine or ten years of age and condemn the practice of putting God into the child's consciousness before his world is big enough for the concept to be meaningful.⁷ Others think that the term is a racial integrating term, suggesting unity and order, and, though the child gives it anthropomorphic connotation, it is developed without difficulty if he grows up in a normal refined environment. A child uses words

⁶ G. H. Betts, "The Religious Ideas of Children," *Christian Century*, May 9, 1934. (From *The Beliefs of 700 Ministers* by George H. Betts [copyright 1929]. By permission of the Abingdon Press).

⁷ S. L. Fahs, "The Beginnings of Religion in Baby Behavior," *Religious Education*, December, 1930.

with limited associations but gradually gains larger meanings and corrects misconceptions without any conscious conflict. It is not necessary to explain the mechanism of a watch when the word is first introduced to him, and neither is it desirable or possible to give a full explanation for the word God. It may be a functioning concept without being scientifically accurate or all-comprehensive. A common mistake is made in trying to overload the term with abstract ideas of omniscience, omnipotence, fatherly care, providential provision, dependable justice, creative force, love of beauty, etc., before a child can appreciate them. Instead of being hampered by generalizations and dogmas, a child needs to have his mind and imagination filled with concrete experiences out of which he can build a working philosophy. He should come to know as intimately as possible the great world, full of wonders, pervaded by beauty, governed in an orderly way, evoking many problems but intensely interesting. The term God may be used without shutting the child's mind against scientific facts and theories or giving a closed causal explanation in terms of personal will. All religious terms may arise in special concrete situations and be expected to grow in the natural expansion of growing life.

It is not much more than a hundred years since children began to receive attention in religious teaching. Up to that time it was generally assumed that adolescence was soon enough to introduce the individual to its mysteries, traditions, and rites. Among many primitive groups the tribal beliefs and practices were revealed to youth at the time of puberty, when they attained adult status and were given responsibilities in increasing degree. But many phases of religion colored the common life, were

explained in part by the mother, and were socially shared in many customs, such as taboos, fears, and superstitions. As society became more highly organized, special teachers of religion were employed and special institutions grew up to further the practices of religion, but the home continued to give the casual instruction, to develop sentiments and loyalties to traditional attitudes and mores. Only of late years has the home ignored this responsibility and allowed the child to grow up without early conditioning in favor of particular forms and practices.

In most histories of religion and in early psychological studies of religion little attention was given to children. Special studies were made of conversion experiences in adolescence and later years, but the idea of slow growth in religious ideas and values was not appreciated. No tests were made of the comprehension of children, and where religious instruction was given, especially in preparation for church membership, catechetical materials were laden with abstract theological terms and meaningless scriptural quotations. Not until the last few years have writers of children's lessons made a psychological approach and shown religious experience as a part of the ordinary relationships of the growing person. Historical materials are evaluated in the light of their possible meaning and significance for the child at a given age level. There is no inherent value in the Bible or other sacred scripture until the learner is able to enter into the social situations of olden times, to take the roles of the persons described, to feel the values they sought, and to understand their beliefs and practices. Bible stories are not rated upon the interest they may arouse but upon the conditioning value of the experiences for better personal and social living.

When George A. Coe wrote his *Social Theory of Religious Education*, he was one of the first to give a rational basis for teaching religion to children. He criticized the existing curriculums and methods of teaching, showing their ineffectiveness for children. He gave a new interpretation to religion, putting it in terms of social values, and set the goal of religious education as "the growth of the young toward and into mature and efficient devotion to the democracy of God, and happy self-realization therein." The keen critical insight of Dr. Coe has been one of the strongest influences in America in the modern development of graded religious education.⁸

W. C. Bower pushed the salient forward. He gave special attention to the way in which social psychology was modifying pedagogical methods. In his *Curriculum of Religious Education* he discussed the nature of experience, showing personality to be the outcome of a process of self-realization, achieved through meaningful adjustments in the life-situations faced by the individual in his world of persons and things. In religious education of the child, as well as of older persons, Professor Bower emphasized the need for enriching and controlling the ongoing body of experiences of the individual and of the groups with which he shares life.⁹ In his book *Character through Creative Experience* the author again emphasized the inadequacy of methods and materials which had been devised on the older conception of education as the transmission of subject matter and development of certain skills. His unit of learning is "the interpretation, enrichment, and control of experience in a situation carried through to its completed response," and his method is

⁸ New York: Scribner's, 1917.

⁹ New York: Scribner's, 1925.

guidance of the growing person in self-learning. The world of the child is continually enlarged, and his problems of adjustment multiplied. Dr. Bower would seek to aid the individual progressively to discover meaning in his world and creatively to relate himself to it.¹⁰ In his latest book *The Living Bible* he has shown the way in which this traditional body of religious experience may become meaningful and effective in the process of religious education.¹¹

This brief mention of some steps in the progressive development of religious education for the enrichment and control of the lives of growing persons indicates the fact that some leaders are keeping abreast of the changing world of science—physical and social. While the majority of ministers, writers, and lay teachers are still bound by outgrown world-views and unreasoned, sentimental loyalties, others are moving steadily ahead to interpret and integrate religion in the light of modern knowledge and methods of philosophical, psychological, and scientific thinking. The drag of conservatism will hold back any rapid progress, but each year shows more persons eager for the changed point of view and more ready to give leadership. Too many educated persons, however, maintain a split personality, thinking and working scientifically in most of their relationships but inconsistently trying to live by a blind faith and with quite unscientific attitudes toward an arbitrary God supposed to govern the welfare of mankind and to rule the affairs of the world. Too many keep religion in an isolated emotional realm of life, refusing to subject their beliefs, prejudices, or prac-

¹⁰ Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

¹¹ New York: Harper & Bros., 1936.

tices to critical examination. Some recognize the conflict between scientific world-views and orthodox traditional religious statements, laughing at religion as naïve and childish. A growing number have studied the modern trends in religious thinking and have come to a satisfactory philosophy of religion.

Little children are ready to take any explanation of happenings which are mysterious to them, for their imagination is active, and they are not hindered by any organized system of thought or world-view. They follow orthodoxy as readily as any modern teaching. Inconsistency does not disturb them, for they put things in juxtaposition before they see interrelations. The responsibility must rest upon educated adults to help children build a base for later world-views which will permit them to integrate their experiences and thoughts without unnecessary conflict.

Before children will give enthusiastic loyalty to the church and its objectives, they must see its central purposes in terms of more significant living. The confusing divisions of the church must give place to co-operative groups working on great human problems and advancing human welfare. A cause must unite young and old and make the interests of the human family greater than any nationalistic or individual selfish strivings. Religious teaching must take ancient history as a significant background but not as an object of supreme loyalty. It must release persons in the midst of an interesting and challenging world so that they may find and help to create an increasingly satisfying way of life for an increasing number of persons.

With these points of view in mind, the writer now

attempts to outline a functional concept of religion which can be made meaningful to children and may grow with the expanding experiences of life. It may seem different from stereotyped institutional forms; yet, if examined carefully, it will be found true to the essence of historical religion. While religion has never followed any uniform pattern, in its highest forms and practices are many common elements. These qualities which give it perennial vigor may be found in individual or group expressions of religion at any stage of its development. A child should find himself in a historical movement where the ideals of the race are conserved and where continuous efforts are made to realize them. Four elements in this functional view¹² of religion may be stated briefly as follows:

1. In religion life is lifted above the animal and mechanistic levels and given spiritual meaning and significance. Human worth is stressed and a sense of the great possibilities of life is awakened. Self-respect and respect for others are stimulated and the desirability for the fullest realization of personality is expressed in the spirit of religion. The abundant life for each and all is sought
2. In religion human values are universalized, and a social order is sought in which the highest personality values individually and collectively may be realized. Mutual respect is the law governing all human relations, and the spirit of love and good

¹² Compare this point of view with that of S. G. Cole, in *Character and Christian Education* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1936). Cole divides religion into two types—the nascent or inarticulate, found in the character-building experiences of everyday life, and the articulate, expressed in conventionalized forms of Protestantism, Judaism, or other faiths. He believes the inarticulate is the primary experience but that the child seldom realizes that the two may be unified. The present writer believes the functional approach serves to bridge this gap.

- will is expected to triumph over the conflicting problems of adjustment. The Kingdom of God is the symbol of its social goal
3. In religion a growing philosophy of life is based upon the highest experienced personal and social values. Good and evil are faced with faith and hope in the abiding values and evolving outcomes of the struggle for the good life. Attention is focused upon the achievements and satisfactions attained by persons who have overcome difficulties and made life more meaningful and worthwhile
 4. In religion there is a continual re-evaluation of the racial heritage of faith and idealism. The individual is supported by the experience of the race in its efforts to solve the mysteries of life, to build an adequate philosophy, and to realize its ideals. His ideas, attitudes, and loyalties come by sharing life with others, and his particular beliefs, customs, and terminology must always be colored by those ideas and practices which become meaningful to him in his contact with past and present expressions of religion

A brief elaboration of these will indicate how the writer conceives of religion as a conditioning factor in the lives of children.

1. Religion stresses human worth and stimulates self-respect and self-realization in all persons, beginning with the earliest years of life. Wherever and whenever children are helped to feel their own worth and the worth of others and are motivated to live largely and well in all personal and social relationships, they are becoming religious. It grows by mutual respect of persons for one another. The baby may become conscious of the worth of others as well as his own in a home where he has to adjust himself to a regular order that respects the welfare of the mother and other members of the family as well as of himself. To the degree that his playmates are caused to exercise respect

for one another and one another's belongings, his play life may contribute to this religious spirit. To the degree that the kindergarten teacher, the other grade teachers, the Sunday-school teacher, and other persons with whom he comes into significant relation further this practice of mutual self-respect and help him to feel increasing possibilities in unselfish living, to that degree are they helping him to grow religiously.

It is natural for the preadolescent to be self-seeking rather than unselfish and social. He is less self-conscious in the early years, and the urge of growing capacities makes him interested in doing things. He tends to act without concern for others, for he does not find the unselfish examples which he needs to help him establish a habit of thinking of others. His unselfishness may be taken advantage of, and his worth may not be duly recognized. Many adults try to impose their wills on him rather than releasing his personality, giving him a chance to find himself. He needs guidance, but he also needs opportunity to discover his own resources and his own capacities. The attitudes of others toward him may help to stimulate a sense of worth, but he must explore life for himself in order to prove to himself his abilities. If he is to love others as himself, according to the religious principle of olden time, he must respect himself, feel the urge for fuller expression of his abilities, and then he may appreciate the same in others; and in the social interaction with others where the spirit of love operates he will increase and improve the desire for self-realization arising from his sense of self-worth.

To organize a program of religious education with these ends in view involves more than a stereotyped plan

for one hour a week in a church building. The modern leader in religious education thinks in terms of direct and indirect influence. A time for fellowship with others in worship, study, and varied activities, such as is found in a progressive church, is valuable but it needs to be supplemented by influences in the home, school, and other community agencies which build into an integrated life the ideals of religion. All those who guide child life must see the opportunities to release personality, to give it social direction, and to stimulate large and ennobling desires. The church should encourage all agencies which further a love of beautiful things, which tend to widen the horizons of growing persons, and which give them a satisfying participation in enterprises working for human betterment. It should condemn and seek to transform all those influences which tend to exploit human weaknesses and to trade on low and debasing desires. While the child must always face reality and become capable of discriminating in his choices, there is no need to make the right way more difficult than it is under the most favorable circumstances. Some are almost damned by the degrading forces which surround them from birth on through their growing period. Contrasting pictures of alternatives should help to develop worthy appreciations, and co-operative social forces should help the individual to achieve those goals which could not be reached alone.

2. The second phase of this functional viewpoint of religion is seen as it operates in universalizing human values. No individual can live his life alone, and the degree to which he appreciates the fact that the process of human growth is primarily one of interaction with his fellowmen, to that extent does he achieve spirituality.

He is a part of a family, a neighborhood, a community, a state, a nation, and a world. Religion is the spirit of mutual advancement by mutual regard each for the other. The greatest common good must be sought in every social relation and in every group expression of life. Granted that the growing person, and even the mature adult, can only approximate such a manner of living, the principle remains the same, for religion is a striving after a goal that ever moves forward as capacity increases.

Under wise guidance a young child may discover advantages in sharing with others and find the meaningful contrasts between selfish and unselfish living. It is futile to talk to a child of the loving heavenly Father and his spirit of good will and love unless he can be shown some concrete evidence of this spirit at work in his world. Even when he experiences the contrary forces of hate, greed, and injustice he must find a superior force at work which makes for a happier kind of life. Short perspective will bring many bitter disillusionments, and he must be helped to look at a longer historical range of events so that assurance of the superior kind of behavior may be projected into a cosmic setting. The old plan of confining religious education to Bible study is not sufficient to make this principle real as a universal rule of life. Illustrations of the good life must be drawn from all areas of life and all periods of history, in Christian and non-Christian conduct. The pictures of good will and love must come from the home, play life, school situations, community enterprises, and even international relationships. Special privilege should appear as the retreat of little persons, and the struggles for public welfare as the adventures of nobler souls, thrilling and compelling. Religion must be guarded

against platitudes, for it is easy to use the phrases "divine Father," "human brotherhood," "one great family of mankind," etc., but it is more difficult to recall graphic pictures of triumphing idealism.

3. The third phase of functional religion is that of building an adequate philosophy to support the higher dreams, desires, and actions. A child must be helped to meet things as they are without apology or fear and to find satisfaction in the very struggles against handicaps, bitter experiences, unlovely and harsh realities. He must recognize his inability to solve all problems or even to understand all situations, but he must find success with others and by himself in meeting and transforming many undesirable factors. As a step in this direction, it is necessary that a child learn to meet problems without evading the main difficulties, or screening out Pollyanna reasons for being glad. Some have few satisfactions and many discouragements, and others are overprotected and take everything for granted without appreciation of their privileges. Contrasting experiences are necessary to feel values, and responsibilities to give occasion for thinking.

It is impossible for a child to conceive of a cosmic God whose laws operate in all the processes of life affecting his welfare until he has reached an age where a world of law and order has meaning and familiarity. As his horizon widens, he will tend to project into the enlarging world his own deductions from the forces he finds governing his own experience of it. He will vary from a personal to a mechanical explanation and from a mechanical to a personal outlook again. He will find it hard to get a satisfactory place for himself in the process, but his imagination will transcend physical limitations, and success will

increase self-confidence and self-respect. A child does not naturally begin with the stories of the Bible or of the life of Jesus to organize a philosophy of life or religion. Religion should always mean, whatever the setting, the best way of life for himself and others. References to the way of Jesus, or the way of God, do not motivate him unless they are happily associated with concrete cases of desirable experiences. His parents and teachers must help him to build up working rules for satisfying living and keep his interests as wide as possible. Firsthand learnings are the most important, but these will be supplemented by sharing the experiences of others. Home, school, and church must co-operate to help him get an integrated view of life, to feel his own possibilities, the needs and desires of others, and the ways in which the best life may be realized for all. Mysteries will persist, problems will multiply, the inevitable and the inescapable will loom up as grim realities, the world will sometimes seem overwhelming, but certain values will persist, and certain resources will be evident. A philosophy will be built and rebuilt many times. Religion will be a faith he shares with the race that the universe supports the upward climb.

4. The fourth phase is found in the continual re-evaluation of the inherited patterns of religious terminology and conduct. In modern education there is no special sanctity for anything merely because it is old, has traditional sentiments and strong emotional attachments. It is important for a child to appreciate his debt to the past, to be able critically to separate the abiding values from the temporal, and to subject his own conclusions to the test of abiding attitudes and proved values. Some are anxious to impose particular attitudes and dogmas upon the child

as soon as possible and feel satisfied when he can repeat in pious tones the sacred terms of God, Jesus, the Bible, the church, prayer, heaven, etc. A child should be allowed to build up his own associations and meanings as his use of these terms grows and as they represent realities of experience. It is not to be lamented if a child is anthropomorphic in early years for if he has freedom, he will outgrow such interpretations and become scientific, with new connotations for most of early terms. The child needs the momentum of racial values to overcome his own tendencies to inertia and to give him perspective to assure the reasonableness of his estimates of life.

What children will do when they are stimulated and given freedom to think for themselves is well illustrated in such records as *Exploring Religion with Eight-Year-Olds*¹³ and *Others Call It God*.¹⁴ In their discussions about God these eight-year-olds made such comments as the following:

We think of God in a different way from those early people because we know more.

Always if you go back far enough you come to God.

Everywhere in the universe you see that God is working.

I don't think God ever wanted people to sacrifice anything—they probably just thought he did.

Probably hundreds of years from now people will study about us and say, "What queer ideas they had about God, and what funny things they did in church in those days."

The first book indicates clearly the capacity of these youngsters to think historically, to enlarge their understanding, and to get a sense of permanency even in the

¹³ H. F. Sweet and S. L. Fahs, *Exploring Religion with Eight-Year-Olds* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930).

¹⁴ J. Perkins, *Others Call It God* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1934).

face of change. The second describes a little older group, some third graders, showing again children's ability to compare how men of old thought, how scientists today are thinking, and how people in 1980 may come to think about the world and man's place in it. Such records would suggest that these children should have no reason for worrying about the conflict of science and religion as they grow older. While some are shocked at such freedom, others feel that it is man's birthright to explore; and, if God cannot be found at work in the world, any "inspired" words about him are useless.

Religions are the responses of persons throughout the centuries to the stimuli of the world in which they live. Each growing person's response to the mysteries, wonders, and responsibilities of life must be the foundation of his individual religious experience. To feel themselves in the line of explorers and pioneers is a much more thrilling experience than to have to find reasons for holding orthodox opinions. The culture patterns will change as they have changed in the past, and any language form or symbol is but a temporary and convenient way of indicating a greater truth than can be exactly described. Children should find an interest in the religious quest, have a desire to penetrate farther into the unknown areas of life, and want to leave the world better for their having lived.

Any attempt to give meaning to religion and to inspire children to live by its faith and precepts must be paralleled by a like program for their parents. Home and church must work together, for the former is necessarily the place of greater opportunity, and all the latter can do is to lend guidance and support. In the atmosphere of

intelligent critical expectancy each should stimulate the other, and children should reflect the serious interest of persons involved in great human problems, seeking to carry forward great enterprises of human welfare.

Pictures of the best types of personal and social living should stir children's imaginations and give them healthy desires to emulate the best. It is one thing to condemn a wrong and quite another to practice a more worthy form of behavior. Past incidents and examples, such as are found in the Bible, should have clear social settings so that they are not merely classed as legends but are keen portrayals of human struggles to realize the best way of life. The Friendship Press has done a remarkable piece of work in presenting graded books which so skilfully describe boys and girls of other lands and other social groupings that a child tends to identify himself with them and to gain a friendly attitude toward them.¹⁵

Worship may help to focus attention upon some of the central teachings and beliefs of religion, to develop habits of meditation, expressions of reverential appreciation, and purposes to further ideals. Great ceremonial days, such as Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving, and some patriotic days may carry forward racial attitudes and promote strong group and community morale. Music, paintings, and other expressions of art should enrich the environment and give beautiful symbols of the spirit and superior quality of religious living—the beauty of holiness.

A closer co-operation among the churches is essential if children and youth are to be impressed with the central place of religion and the serious nature of its goals. Prejudices and property interests of sectarian groups

¹⁵ 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

must give place to the sincere effort to raise life to a religious level. Nothing but a united front can hold back the forces of evil and greed and permit young people to believe in the possible triumph of righteousness and love. Minor differences and little causes must give place to weightier issues which challenge the very existence of religious institutions. Even Christianity and the other ethnic faiths must be willing to submerge their exclusive claims in the larger truth and mission of a militant religious cause. Instead of a few stereotyped services with standardized programs, much the same whatever church one enters, organized religion needs to assume a multitude of forms and work wherever human problems are found. A well-planned co-operative program of activities should be the rule in every community, based upon a careful survey of the needs of the people, young and old. The overhead organizations should function as clearing houses to aid in building flexible programs and should extend the influences of local groups, uniting them in national and international movements.

In the introduction to the book *Others Call It God* Professor Herriott says, "Here was a class procedure so arranged that problems from within the group could arise spontaneously and have a hearing. Involved in such a procedure was the administrative policy of the school which allowed flexibility of program and arranged sufficient time for significant experience to take place." Summing up his reactions as a father whose children had shared in the opportunities of this school, he adds, "This father is convinced that his child has arrived at a solution of intellectual difficulties some twenty years sooner in his experience than did he, who struggled through years of

spiritual agony to arrive at any satisfactory placement of God in the universe."¹⁶ Another fine illustration of this freer plan of religious experience for children is given in *Case Studies of Present-Day Religious Teaching*. A primary class had a project in neighborliness which was carried out apparently without any objectionable spirit of patronage by a privileged group toward a less fortunate one. By skilful guidance the children were stimulated to undertake a friendly piece of service, did it in a practical way, and had a thrilling experience in doing it. Another class of juniors is described as starting with a special study of the Bible and finding a new interest in and understanding of current Jewish customs. They learned to respect others who had different racial and religious values and practices.¹⁷

It is possible to improve the religious education of children in most situations. Progress is being made, and religion is proving its functioning power in the growth of character. It is a remarkable achievement that about forty denominations in America co-operate in the International Council of Religious Education. The studies made by commissions composed of leaders of various denominations have contributed a great deal to the knowledge of child life and to a better adjustment of religious programs to the needs and interests of all growing persons.¹⁸

¹⁶ P. x.

¹⁷ Hartshorne and Lotz, *op. cit.*, chaps. ii and iii.

¹⁸ Cf. *International Curriculum Guide*, Book II: *Religious Education of Children* (Chicago: International Council of Religious Education, 203 N. Wabash Ave.).

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CHAPTER XI

THE HANDICAPPED CHILD

This chapter and the following deal with certain problems which some children are meeting and which parents and educators must also meet in an intelligent and constructive way. The handicapped child is not necessarily a maladjusted one, but the problems he faces may lead to maladjustments unless he is wisely guided. In most discussions of problem children, handicapped are classified with maladjusted, and yet some of the handicapped are among the best adjusted. For it may be that a handicap becomes a spur to endeavor, and if adults give sympathetic help, instead of pity, there is a good chance that it may be so. In this chapter we treat the handicapped as normal children meeting difficult problems, and in the next chapter we consider those who have ceased to be normal and cannot be expected to meet their problems satisfactorily until some condition is corrected. The end point in either group is to find the best ways to produce full and happy functioning.

A handicap is anything which hinders, or tends to hinder, the most effective operation of a child in his ordinary course of living. It is a disadvantage which the majority do not have to meet. It may be in the child's bodily or mental equipment, or in his economic needs, or perhaps in his physical or social surroundings. Some handicaps are of short duration and subject to available help, while others like blindness, deafness, crippling, heart trouble, or incurable disease, present a lifelong series

of problems. The advances of science and invention have done many things to reduce the disabling factors, and many agencies are working constantly to further improve conditions. Special forms of education are being used in many cases, and intelligent efforts are being made to help handicapped children discover their resources and become as independent and happy as possible.

In diagnosing a handicap problem one must give attention to at least these four phases of the factors involved:

1. The nature of the handicap, or handicaps, and effect upon the ordinary reactions of the child. Comparison with normal children, and with like handicapped, may be necessary to estimate the significance of the handicap
2. The attitude of the parents and others toward the disability
3. The attitude of the child toward his disadvantage
4. The possible ways of improving the whole situation

A broken leg in one home may be a mere incident, soon forgotten, and in another home under quite different conditions it may be a tragedy, the beginning of endless trouble. Malnutrition in one child may be easily corrected as soon as recognized, but, in a family on relief or where a mother is ignorant or non-co-operative, the child may suffer for a long time. Each case requires careful study, and each demands special treatment. No two children react in the same way to similar handicaps, and no two situations have the same resources.

The chief concern in any problem is the attitude of the child to his special difficulty. Like a grain of sand in an oyster shell, an irritant may be the occasion for releasing latent capacities, producing a pearl of great value. But conditions must be right for the transformation of a handicap into an asset. Pearls are rare, but it is easy to find handicapped oysters. Not every congenital cripple can be

expected to become an electrical genius like Steinmetz. Not every blind child will be as fortunate in the nurse he or she has as Helen Keller. Not every stutterer can hope to become an orator like Demosthenes. One can find many illustrations of persons who have triumphed over their handicaps and whose personalities are outstanding because of their victories. These stories are inspiring, but it is not easy to duplicate the conditions which produced these desirable outcomes. Most children find it hard enough to meet the regular course of events when they have all the advantages of good health, intelligent and sympathetic parents, and helpful surroundings. Yet, if difficulties are to be overcome, one must not begin by pitying a child or making excuses for him. One must cultivate the spirit of adventure and call forth the thrills of achievement in an upward climb.

Some of the greatest handicaps to full personality development are not readily apparent. They may not appear until too late, until some maladjustment causes a boy or girl to be brought to a clinic. Perhaps it might be well to assume that every boy and girl has handicaps, hindrances to realization of their largest possibilities. It may be that the types referred to in this chapter are the more obvious ones and that the more subtle and dangerous ones are overlooked. Yet to review these may be a sensitizing process by which we may become conscious of the less tangible forms. As scientific knowledge advances, we can better understand the significance of handicaps and meet them with our latent resources. There was a time when society felt that all it could do with a child born with a serious physical defect was to expose him to the elements and let him die. It is not very long since a

feeble-minded child was only a burden in a home and the butt of jokes for his playmates. Today he may be given skilled attention and medical treatment at the expense of the state in a well-equipped institution. There was a time when, if a community suffered some disaster, such as a plague, a drought, an earthquake, or flood, few outside the district knew about it, or, if they knew, could do anything. Today, when a catastrophe happens, the resources of the world are marshaled to aid the victims.

It is a measure of the progress of humanity to see these many signs of concern for the handicapped and distressed. Yet some people are heartless and unconcerned about the welfare of others, and some even take advantage of others in their need. It seems almost unbelievable that medicines intended to relieve suffering could be adulterated for profit, that food for babies and children could be debased for the greedy advantage of some stockholders, that financial savings could be manipulated so as to rob orphans, or that funds allotted for starving families could be grafted upon by persons in places of political trust. Yet our papers report such occurrences everyday, and very little is done to correct the evils or to make the culprits feel the displeasure of decent citizens. Such persons are blots upon our civilization and should not be allowed freedom to multiply their wrongdoings. They are only a small percentage of our citizenry, and they should be branded and punished without delay. It is not enough that most citizens respond magnificently to human needs. Those who are social parasites must feel the pressure of social stigma and just punishment.

Few individuals or families are responsible for the handicaps which they face. They are, on the whole, social

products, or the results of forces, which neither the individual nor his family could have prevented. If a child is born with some physical deformity or defect, it is seldom due to any person's fault, and certainly the child is not responsible. Sickness, accidents, economic reversals, neighborhood conditions, and the host of other factors contributing toward children's handicaps are problems for society to deal with, and the burdens should be lifted as far as possible from the shoulders of individuals. It is enough to overcome the natural retardation without social stigma and cruel indifference. Persons are bound together with mutual responsibilities, and the needs of any are the obligations of all. The law of love is the spirit which exalts the individual and transforms society. While individual obligations must be fulfilled to the utmost, they will reach their highest level when they find social support.

In the survey of the White House Conference of 1930 it was estimated that there were over ten million handicapped children in America, only one in five of whom was receiving any special attention. The figures are only rough estimates, but the problems suggested by them are of great moment.

- 6,500,000 children who are mentally deficient, of whom 150,000 are epileptic and 850,000 are definitely feeble-minded, and the others intellectually subnormal
- 2,500,000 children with well-marked behavior difficulties, including the more serious mental and nervous disorders
- 3,000,000 children with impaired hearing, of whom 17,000 are deaf
- 400,000 tuberculous children and 850,000 suspected cases of tuberculosis
- 450,000 children with cardiac limitations
- 300,000 crippled children
- 65,000 visually handicapped children, of whom 15,000 are blind

It is encouraging that 35,000,000 children are described as reasonably normal and that 1,500,000 are listed as specially gifted children.¹ With the resources of the nation and its medical and educational leadership, the task of dealing effectively with these less fortunate ones is not too great. It is especially significant that the government has made this study of child life in America and that cities, states, and the federal government are taking the major responsibilities for dealing with the problems. Many private agencies are also organized and doing good work in special fields, and many individuals have given their lives to research and to works of amelioration.

The Bill of Rights for the handicapped child, drawn up by the Committee, is a most inspiring and challenging document:

The handicapped child has a right:

1. To as vigorous a body as human skill can give him
2. To an education so adapted to his handicap that he can be economically independent and have the chance for the fullest life of which he is capable
3. To be brought up and educated by those who understand the nature of the burden he has to bear and who consider it a privilege to help him bear it.
4. To grow up in a world which does not set him apart, which looks at him, not with scorn or pity or ridicule, but which welcomes him, exactly as it welcomes every child, which offers him identical privileges and identical responsibilities
5. To a life on which his handicap casts no shadow, but which is full day by day with those things which make it worth while, with comradeship, love, work, play, laughter, and tears—a life in which these things bring continually increasing growth, richness, release of energies, joy in achievement

¹ *White House Conference, 1930; Addresses and Abstracts of Committee Reports* (New York: Century Co., 1931), p. 292.

The Committee also said that a comprehensive program must include early discovery and diagnosis, curative and remedial treatment, a broad education, vocational adjustment, protective legislation, research, and integration of all forces working toward this end. It was also recommended that these studies by the national government which were being made each decade should be continued that they might serve as a guide for public and private agencies in their preventive and remedial work among children.²

In order to go beyond this brief list of handicaps made by the White House Conference Committee and to suggest the conditions which are making it difficult for thousands of children to realize a full development of personality, the writer proposes the following classification of handicaps:

1. Physical:

- Disfigurement or deformity, congenital or acquired
- Defects of eyes, ears, heart, and other organs
- Diseases of nose and throat, lungs, tuberculosis, rickets, urinary troubles
- Improper glandular functionings
- Malnourished bodies, anemia, lowered vitality
- Attack disorders, epilepsy, fainting
- Racial, national, or other class peculiarities

2. Mental:

- Inadequate intellectual equipment, subnormal, diseased
- Disturbed functioning of the brain, toxic condition
- Poor education, inadequate stimuli
- Depraved imagination, incorrigible attitudes, stubborn habits

3. Emotional:

- Disorganized, neurotic, unstable conditions
- Fears, jealousies, hates, worries, aversions, prejudices

² *Ibid.*, p. 291.

Negativistic, whining, crying, irritable habits
Shy, timid, withdrawing, sensitive, suspicious attitudes
Starved hungers for love, beauty, pleasure
Moody, sullen, hysterical states

4. Environmental:

Economic—some too much, some too little, migratory families, crowded
Broken homes— orphaned, divorced or separated parents, economic split
Unhappy homes—neglected, conflicts, sickness, strains and tensions
Ignorant, uncultured, degraded homes and neighborhoods
Delinquent areas, criminal associates, antisocial gangs

5. Social:

Born out of wedlock, questionable parentage
Racial antipathies, minority repression, class feeling
Migratory life, constantly moving
Uncultured and uncouth habits, poor training
Lonesome, little companionship, few playmates of own age
Unfortunate reflections of unsocial attitudes, depressed, embittered

6. Moral and religious:

Lack of moral concepts and habits, poor examples in surroundings
Corrupt sex attitudes and habits
Delinquent habits, lying, stealing
Religious outlook sentimental, magical, formal, indifferent

The list is incomplete, and the discussions of each division must be brief, but they will suffice for our purpose which is to orient parents, teachers, and others interested in child welfare toward the different kinds of situations which children meet. To be able to take the role of the child, to sit where he sits, to feel what he feels, and to want what he wants is to be ready to help a child achieve his best. No matter what we would like for a given child,

we must deal with things as they are and make the best of them.

PHYSICAL HANDICAPS

A child who is disfigured or deformed is the object of special attention wherever he goes. Sometimes he arouses a rude curiosity, sometimes pity, sometimes ridicule, and often disparagement. To have an attractive face and figure, a vigorous vitality, and to be able to play, or take part in anything, is to have a pleasing and popular personality. To have a scarred face, a harelip, a crippled arm or leg, crossed eyes, protruding teeth, or any other imperfection of this kind makes it exceedingly difficult to get recognition for personal worth. People tend to react to first impressions and do not hold either their attitudes or their judgments in check until they have proved personal worth. Children probably do this even more impulsively than grown-ups.

Some of these disfigurements may be corrected or improved if the child can be given expert surgical treatment. Medical science has developed marvelous skills and techniques for reconstructing the human constitution. If attended to early, many deformities can be largely overcome, and handicaps reduced. Club feet or bowlegs may be straightened, scars improved, eyes straightened, teeth brought into line, and many other delicate operations performed. Yet operations and treatments are expensive, only a few expert surgeons are available, and a comparative few may hope to get the services needed. Free clinics are doing much for the destitute, but, for the middle class or those on the border line who are trying to maintain independence and self-respect and to pay their way, the facilities are distinctly limited.

We have public institutions for the deaf and blind, sanitariums for the tubercular, and movements for more socialized medical, dental, and surgical care are gaining ground. It may not be long before young men and women will take training for these lines of human service in the same way that many do for the teaching field to-day, without expectation of large fees, but with a reasonable salary in view. As social ideals take more hold on the imaginations of youth, more and more services will be put on a noncommercial basis, and the largest rewards will be honor for work well done and the satisfaction of having rendered needed human service.

(A child who is deformed is likely to withdraw from most activities, or to seek some compensatory outlet for repressed desires and wounded feelings. A child whose eyes or ears prevent clear impressions may be treated as dull or even as feeble-minded. (He is left out of games, taken advantage of by thoughtless playmates, and often ridiculed for mistakes or shortcomings. Crippled, deaf, or blind children may be put into institutions where equipment and attention are provided to meet special needs. It is wonderful what is done to make these handicapped youngsters self-reliant, able to enjoy many privileges, and adjusted to the world in which they have to live. Many become vocationally fitted so that they can earn their own living. For some all that is needed is a brace, an orthopedic shoe, a pair of eyeglasses, or regular treatments to strengthen a limb or to correct some organic functioning. It is not enough to diagnose a weakness, to discover a remedy, or to render temporary relief. Society must help families to provide anything which will enable a handicapped child to become a self-respecting

and self-sustaining individual. As with a normal child, the goal should be to develop independence, confidence, and efficient skills.

One who is weakened by some infection, by a cardiac condition, by tuberculosis, or other disease cannot meet the requirements of vigorous play, and many times cannot look forward to the day when he will be able to play like others. He must be guarded and put under strict rules for diet, sleep, exercise, and most activities. He cannot compete freely but must be satisfied with a few restricted forms of pleasure. He will become accustomed to hearing people pity him. It is hard, if one is physically weak, to assert an aggressive spirit, to maintain a cheerful countenance, and to prove one's worth in the home or wherever one may be. Those who can help a child to become significant, worthy of respect, and to enjoy living have rendered him the highest service.

Most people do not appreciate what it means to be a member of a minority group, to be treated rudely, to be despised, to be put on the defensive. A Negro child in a white community, a Japanese or Chinese boy or girl in many American communities, a Jewish child in a largely gentile district, a Roman Catholic in a Protestant section, or a Protestant in a Roman Catholic neighborhood are exposed to continual slights, mean tricks, cowardly injustices, and abusive language. If they become submissive, they are treated as of no account. If they become defiant, they are mocked or punished by an insulted *superior* majority. It is extremely difficult to keep kindly social attitudes toward those who will not respect you or your rights. Families of a minority group often have customs and social standards that are quite different

from those of the majority, and a child soon feels the clash of these and is in confusion as to what he should do. He will not want to keep up customs which accentuate the differences between him and his neighbors and associates, and sometimes in the case of foreign homes there is considerable conflict. One other situation is noteworthy—the child of the minority group has little encouragement from outside to become ambitious. If he succeeds, it will be in spite of disapproval and perhaps with a desire to gain mastery over his oppressors.

MENTAL HANDICAPS

An idiot, like an animal, has few troubles as far as we know. An imbecile has few more, but a moron, or borderline mental case, may have quite sensitive feelings and find it very difficult to get on happily except in limited and protected surroundings. Children of average intelligence (I.Q. of 90-110) find themselves equal to most situations but may feel it a strain to keep up with playmates or schoolmates of superior ability. They may feel jealous of those who get better marks, or who handle easily problems that confuse and tire them, for abstract ideas and many mathematical problems tax the intelligence of the average mind. Children of high I.Q.'s find much of the ordinary school work too easy. It does not stir their deeper interests or challenge their capacities. Some of them get into trouble because they do not have enough to do. If they are promoted into higher grades, they may have difficulty in adjusting themselves to children older and better socialized. Mental differences make many difficulties for children in schools where there is no provision for individual variations, high and low.

The White House Conference estimated that approximately 13 per cent of the population may be regarded as subnormal or mentally retarded and yet able with proper training to function adequately in ordinary social relations. It is not a compliment to society that subnormals may be so much at home in it. The Committee said that 2 per cent should be regarded as so mentally and socially incapable that they ought to be kept in institutions. Subnormals are subject to special temptations and to exploitation by unscrupulous persons. They need supervision and should be screened out from ordinary civic rights by suitable tests. But they should be prepared for duties they can perform and for happy social privileges.

It is tragic when people of good mental caliber are unable to afford education and cannot look forward to the fullest employment of their capacities and talents. In some backward communities schools are taught by people who have not had more than an eighth-grade education. In many cities and towns political school boards hold down expenditures and make appointments and rules which prevent the use of modern methods and enriched curriculums. Every community needs provision for nursery schools, kindergartens, special opportunity classes, and differentiated programs.

EMOTIONAL HANDICAPS

Some children, for one reason or another, have lost their emotional stability and are in constant misery, not knowing what a satisfactory stable adjustment means. Emotional disorganization comes next to mental disorders in seriousness. When we consider the strains to which many children are subjected to at every age level, it is

surprising that we do not have more "nervous wrecks." Many conditions threaten children with danger, and they have to be guarded continually. They reflect the fears of their parents before they know of what they ought to be afraid, and they may, if protected too much, fail to develop a healthy self-confidence. Children need to be taught to be careful but to know their powers and to move with poise and confidence. Some parents will not let a creeping child go near a stairway, while others help a child to be at home on stairs as soon as he shows an interest in them.

There are districts where a few children bully the rest, and in such places many grow up in fear, expecting to be brutally treated at any time. A few learn to fight their way through, even with the bullies. When parents and teachers control children by fear, they meekly submit or develop defense mechanisms of deceit or trickery. A few imitate the domineering adult in dealing with their playmates. When children are afraid of their own shadows, we cannot hope for strong buoyant personalities. Submissive children may be less trouble, but they cannot become significant persons.

Homes, schools, and playgrounds often give occasion for the growth of jealousies and hates. Parents are not always as impartial as they ought to be, teachers have favorites, and children are very unjust. If a child is sensitive, repressed, having a hard time to get recognition, it is easy to become jealous or to hate those who excel him. When a child becomes jealous, hates others, or loses faith in their fairness, he has raised barriers to friendship and companionship which are difficult to overcome. By his own attitude he handicaps himself.

Every child hungers for affection and develops fully only in an atmosphere of love. Love is a refining experience which permits the finer graces to grow and provides for the outreaches of the growing personality. It involves mutual respect and kindness in common things, shared interests, and strengthening support for all endeavors. Where love is lacking, and especially where cruelty is manifest, the child tends to follow the animal instinct of self-preservation and to become unsocial. Children want a good time, to thrill with joys, to be able to anticipate and plan for pleasures and to share with others. They have a large capacity for enjoyment, and the very sight of others having a good time makes them wish to join in or to have similar fun. Some children seem starved for real fun and hardly able to smile. It may be on account of sickness, overwork, sullen parents or guardians, loneliness, or many other reasons, but the lack of these quickening sensations and satisfying feelings reduces the ordinary incentives and tends to jealousies, hates, and bitterness. There is also a common hunger for beauty. Children like pretty things, bright colors, variety of interesting forms, soft textures, kindly faces, neat clothes and good surroundings. They do not have the same tastes as cultured adults, but they have fine appreciations if given any chance. They may get dirty, be careless, show a disregard for what fussy adults consider important, but they understand contrasting differences in beauty, and they hate to have to live in an ugly shack, to wear poor clothes, not to be able to have some of the beautiful things they see. We must help children to cultivate a love of beauty and to see its possibilities everywhere.

Moods are inflexible attitudes, and it is unfortunate

when a child develops a moody habit. He may be reflecting the behavior of a parent, he may have adopted it as a defense technique, or it may be the result of a persistent aggravating condition. Moods in a child have many different forms. He may be excitable, responding to everything in a nervous, jumpy fashion; he may be stubborn or negative, unco-operative for long periods; he may be sullen, depressed, seldom enthusiastic about anything; he may be mean, cantankerous, out of sorts with everyone. In any case the child is shut out of needed social activities, and such experience puts him in a wrong psychological attitude to benefit by the ordinary experiences which might be helpful and enjoyable to him.

ENVIRONMENTAL HANDICAPS

The first environmental handicap that most people think of is the economic. It is a bar to many privileges, but it is not an inevitable loss, for some of the finest graces are developed under the pressure of economic necessities. Here again children reflect the attitudes of those around them and show the spirit of their elders in meeting privation. But, as children grow and see the privileges that others enjoy, they tend to resent the injustice and to long for things of their own. It is dwarfing to personality to live in crowded homes and neighborhoods, with nothing to be proud of in one's surroundings. But we have discussed this matter of poverty, broken homes, and delinquency areas in our chapter on home influences, and we need only to recall it to indicate its place among the handicaps. When children have to struggle against their environment to attain standards of right and decency, only a few will reach a high level. The Child Welfare

League of America reports 600,000 orphans:³ some in institutions, some in foster-homes and a few street waifs. In losing his own home a child loses his most valuable birthright—his own parents, family traditions and associations. We need only mention the possible differences in other community assets, schools, playgrounds, parks, swimming pools, museums, musical concerts, decent movies, selected radio programs, and all the other advantages of civilization. Some children get an abundance of enriching stimuli and are carefully guided in their growing experiences. Others are denied these privileges and have to take whatever chance brings them. Some are glutted with good things and lose appreciation for them; some are impoverished, or debased with things of inferior grade.

SOCIAL HANDICAPS

The social handicaps include the environmental, for there is a difference between playing a role in an upper stratum of society and begging an existence in a lower one. Children are fortunate if they are born and reared in surroundings of culture, refinement, and expanding opportunities; but they are most unfortunate if all they touch is crude, boorish, and limiting. We have mentioned the problems of racial and national antipathy, of minority groups, and of migratory life. Anything which puts a child on the defensive instead of permitting him to share life freely on a par with others is detrimental to the finer expressions of personality. To be constantly moving, without any intimate friends and without loyalties to significant customs, prevents children from feeling and sharing natural social values tending to make life superficial.

³ L. H. Robbins, *New York Times*, October, 27, 1935.

An especially difficult handicap is that of illegitimacy or of questionable parentage. The White House Conference⁴ reported 63,942 illegitimate births in the United States in 1928, and the newspapers make headlines of the scandals of questionable births. It is impossible to live down such publicity or to rise free from such social stigma. Even if a child is adopted into a good home, his standing as an adopted child is seldom on a par with that of natural parentage. He may be an orphan from the best of legitimate stock or an illegitimate child of good, bad, or indifferent lineage; but his status is treated as not quite equal to even that of a child of morons. It is unfair and most unreasonable, but society has so many second-rate minds that the child is nearly always made to feel inferior by some heartless person and worries over his parentage, whether he has need to or not. Many children, both of regular and irregular marriage relations, must suffer innocently for the sins and selfishness of their parents. The social diseases of syphilis and gonorrhea and other infections often damn a child at birth and give him an irremediable handicap.

It is bad enough to belong to a family in which someone has committed a crime or transgressed some social law, but to know that all the details have been published and made a matter of gossip throughout the country is destructive of all self-respect. It is a terrible indictment of our civilization to recall the inhuman attitude of so many people in the experiences of humiliation and suffering. Without regard for the consequence to children or innocent relatives or friends of the guilty person, the sordid facts and horrid embellishments are spread in the papers

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

and recited over the radio. Instead of making people hate crime and sin, a criminal is often given the standing of a heroic adventurer, one who has done things most people would not dare to do. Imaginations are basely stimulated, and possibilities of high character are defeated.

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS HANDICAPS

In his review of the factors affecting children's morals, Vernon Jones says, "The most important place in a list of environmental factors influencing moral behavior must be assigned to the home. Children from their earliest age look first of all to their parents for guidance by precept and example."⁵ Undoubtedly, a good home is an asset, and a bad home is a liability. A child should get his standards of right and wrong and his general outlook on life in the everyday experiences of his home, school, and neighborhood by seeing and feeling what is approved and what is disapproved, what people work for and what they do in their leisure. Moral and religious values are not found at the end of stories, or in emotional exhortations, but in the concrete social relations of growing and expanding life. Children tend to follow the patterns set for them by their associates if they bring satisfying results, and their concepts grow as they find meanings in contrasting situations. Children who have immoral surroundings, whose struggle to exist involves corrupt practices, whose whole horizon is dark with foreboding shadows, cannot have healthy social attitudes. Every study shows that delinquency multiplies in delinquent areas and that, where the elevating influences are few, the demoralizing forces are many. The hopelessness of reforming character is that in

⁵ *Handbook of Child Psychology* (1931), chap. xiii, "Children's Morals."

most cases one has not only an individual to convert but a home and a neighborhood as well.

Religion contributes very little to the persons who need it most. Except for missions and organizations like the Salvation Army, most churches are exclusive social groups, who exclude moral transgressors because they do not know how to handle them. The teaching that goes on in most Sunday schools does not seem to prepare children for moral tests, as Hartshorne and May⁶ have shown. This is not strange when one studies the program of the average church, for the ideas and teachings are in most cases quite foreign to everyday experiences. Few children have a chance to develop a religious faith out of ennobling experiences, direct contacts with nature, and a growing acquaintance with the world to which school and reading introduces them. Their religious instruction is a discussion of abstract ideas, the use of mystical and magical formulas and ceremonies, and stories from ancient times.

When more adults dare to live largely, to exercise faith in themselves and in their fellowmen, to study carefully the meanings of life that history, science, and practical living can give, their horizons will grow, their philosophies of life will be equal to the infinite visions of an ever expanding world, and religion will be something more than defense of worn-out creeds and infantile practice of pretty forms. Children need religion but not theology; faith that rests in adventurous living and not in authoritative dogmas; hope that springs from fulness of life and not from deprivations; love that transforms the commonplace and not vapid sentiments. Most children are handicapped in

⁶ H. Hartshorne and M. May, "A Summary of the Work of the Character Education Inquiry," *Religious Education*, October, 1930, p. 760.

religion because they have failed to find its satisfactions, and so few adults can help them.

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CHAPTER XII

MALADJUSTMENTS

Some maladjustments are inevitable in the kind of world where children must grow up. Even a child with a good physical heritage, intelligent and cultured parents, and enriching environment has a host of problems. If he is handicapped in any of the ways suggested in the previous chapter, he is beset with problems and more subject to the possibilities of maladjustment. Yet the great majority of children get along well. Only a small minority have to be treated as special problems requiring psychiatric guidance. A smaller fraction are sent to the juvenile courts and must be given institutional treatment. The White House Conference committees estimated that about 1 per cent of children in the United States become court cases.¹ Various school surveys show that about 10-15 per cent are behavior problems, with a much smaller percentage of serious character. It is a distinct credit to our homes, schools, and community agencies that about nine out of ten children become sufficiently socialized in the ordinary course of their experiences to avoid trouble and to measure up to the expected standards. While we know that every child has his problems, gets into more or less difficulties with others, and might do much better if he had better surroundings, we believe that civilizing influences for the majority are quite effective. This fact should be emphasized—children, for the most

¹ *White House Conference, 1930: Addresses and Abstracts of Committee Reports* (New York: Century Co., 1931), p. 342.

part, adjust themselves satisfactorily—for sometimes our civilization and its educational systems are unfairly criticized in this regard. Failures should be judged in the light of achievements as well as in respect to unattained possibilities.

In dealing with the problems of the maladjusted, two special considerations should be kept in mind:

1. The members of a small group who need special treatment are a menace to others; the cost of handling criminals is greater than the cost of general education; the amount spent on hospitals, asylums, and corrective institutions is tremendous in proportion to the amount expended for the enrichment of personalities in the healthy majority
2. The minority deserve special care, for in large measure they are the innocent victims of heredity or environment; the advance of knowledge is making it more and more possible to correct and to prevent the causes of many maladjustments; society is no stronger than its weakest member

Progress will be made as more people come to understand the crippling conditions, identify themselves with the sufferers, and set themselves to change economic and social conditions. Society cannot afford to ignore its plague spots, to be careless of conditions which multiply maladjustments and ruin young lives. Small problems are likely to grow into larger ones, and diseases of every kind to spread without respect to class boundaries.

It must be remembered, too, that there is no fixed line of demarcation between the well adjusted and the maladjusted, between good and bad children, between normal and problem cases. All differences are of degree and vary with environing factors. The best child may show undesirable traits when subjected to demoralizing circumstances, and the worst may improve if given a chance. Further, the differences in attitude toward children's

problems show that deficiencies are relative to social expectations. What one person regards as a serious personality problem another person with different background and social outlook may consider merely as a transient difficulty, sometimes irritating to an adult out of all proportion to its seriousness. Conduct which some may praise as exemplary will be suspected by others with better insight as symptomatic of deep underlying shortcomings in personality development. In homes, neighborhoods, and schools where children's thoughtless and impulsive behaviors are understood and where needs are sympathetically appreciated, they are dealt with patiently, and most faults are corrected by wise guidance and indirect measures. But in situations where ignorant parents, teachers, or other adults consider their own interests and conveniences first, any misstep is branded as antisocial, and punishments aim at repression. To be treated as abnormal or delinquent is far more likely to make one so than to correct the tendency. Every case is different, has different causative factors, different complications, and different resources.

One interesting fact that stands out in dealing with problem cases and delinquencies is that by the time a child is brought to official attention in school, community, or social agency there is seldom only one problem to deal with. After studying five thousand records of the Chicago Institute for Juvenile Research, Luton Ackerson found: "In most children of this group no single item stands out. Rather it is a combination of undesirable traits which make the child a sufficient problem to cause the parents, or guardian, or agency concerned, to arrange for a formal clinical examination. . . . The children do not fall into types . . . but . . . they have many undesirable habits

varying in numbers and in degrees of intensity." The average number of personal problems in this study was five, and the average number of conduct problems per child was seven. Some had several adjustment difficulties, some only one or two. In treatment this multiplicity of factors makes diagnosis and handling extremely difficult, for not only are there the varied problems but each problem may involve a combination of causes. To attempt to correct one phase of a maladjustment may introduce special difficulties with respect to other phases.²

Some children begin with a fortunate heritage and environment, promise well, but later become perverted, disorganized, or unsatisfactorily adjusted. Others begin with a very undesirable set of conditions, seem to be frustrated at every turn, and yet increasingly master their circumstances and become happily adjusted to the general run of their affairs. The latent possibilities for good or evil in each child are a constant marvel and a continual challenge to education. Children seem much like garden plots. Let them grow wild, and the weeds far outnumber other plants; cultivate them, and weeds appear in spite of your care with seeds and preparation of the soil; leave a weed to grow, and it multiplies and crowds out the good plants; get a good crop started, and some climatic condition or insect pest may ruin it. It is hazardous work raising children, but in the long run intelligent care pays. Nature does not yield her good harvests without testing and disciplining those who ask for large returns.

When one tries to classify maladjustments, one is hope-

² L. Ackerson, *Children's Behavior Problems* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 6.

lessly perplexed. It is best to study the various lists that have been made and to become familiar with many different kinds of personality problems and behavior difficulties. The different combinations of elements in the cases which one may meet in dealing with maladjusted children are always astounding, but familiarity with varied types makes one resourceful and wise in dealing with whatever appears. The study of reports on problems also makes one ready to deal with adults related to the problem children. One gets different points of view and attitudes toward problems and toward those involved.

Two lists from Kavin's study of preschool children suggest the types of poor social adjustments which may be expected at this early age. They are the kind of faults which, if not corrected, may develop into serious problems. The first list is more descriptive of types of behavior; the second (Table 4) gives a distribution for three groups.

PRESCHOOL MALADJUSTMENTS

Frequently or usually does not get on well with other children
Unfriendly, withdraws, repels others

Domineering, bossy, self-assertive, no sense of fair play, disturbs others

Selfish in regard to his possessions, breaks other people's property

Teases, pushes, annoys others

Criticizes the way others do things, fussy

Quarrels, fights, argues

Hits, slaps, scratches, throws things at others

Displays temper and anger at others

Has no friends, plays alone

Passive, unresponsive, lacks initiative

Shy, timid, fearful, self-conscious

Does not stand up for his own rights, yields without protest³

³ E. Kavin, *Children of Preschool Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 265.

TABLE 4*
DISTRIBUTION OF BEHAVIOR AND PERSONALITY
PROBLEMS

Problem	Problem Group (100 Cases)	Well- adjusted Group (50 Cases)	Unselected (100 Cases)
No behavior problems.....	0	4	8
Temper.....	45	38	47
Destructiveness.....	8	2	4
Negativism, stubbornness, obstinacy...	34	16	24
Disobedience, difficult to manage.....	33	26	27
Running away.....	2	2	2
Stealing, dishonesty.....	4	0	3
Lying.....	2	0	2
Crying, sulking, whining.....	22	12	12
Fire-setting.....	2	0	1
Impudence to adults.....	1	2	1
Irritability.....	1	2	1
Demanding adult attention, showing off	6	4	4
Feeding difficulties.....	33	28	27
Vomiting.....	0	2	1
Sleeping difficulties.....	10	10	8
Enuresis.....	31	16	23
Soiling.....	3	2	1
Finger-sucking.....	13	18	25
Nail-biting, nose-picking.....	10	20	20
Other unusual habits.....	1	4	4
Rocking.....	2	0	1
Masturbation.....	10	12	12
Other sex habits.....	1	2	0
Fear of things, new situations.....	9	8	7
Fear of strangers.....	7	6	5
Nervousness, tenseness.....	11	2	4
Emotional instability, moods.....	6	0	0
Excitability.....	1	2	1
Spells, tics.....	0	0	5
Convulsions, fainting.....	0	4	1
Daydreaming.....	9	2	4
Lazy, dawdling.....	0	4	1
Unresponsiveness.....	9	2	0
Lack of initiative.....	4	4	1
Overdependence on adults.....	17	2	2
Speech—retardation.....	8	0	2

* E. Kavin, *Children of Preschool Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 265.

TABLE 4—*Continued*

Problem	Problem Group (100 Cases)	Well- adjusted Group (50 Cases)	Unselected (100 Cases)
Speech—refusal	3	0	0
Speech—infantile	3	10	4
Speech—defects	7	10	8
School—grade placement	5	10	3
School—scholastic difficulties	1	0	2
Retardation, although average or superior in test	5	0	2
Retardation real	4	0	1
Distractability	4	8	4
Restlessness	5	0	4
Miscellaneous	3	0	3

Miss Kawin says that the maladjustments of these young children do not seem to be conspicuously related to any single factors in the child's makeup or environment but to groups of factors, constellations of capacities, and conditioning factors. One case cited illustrates the combination of faults which may be found in one child. A boy of six was brought to the clinic whose main problem was described as his attitude toward other children, being the bad boy of the neighborhood, belligerent, annoying, punching, and fighting. He was jealous of his brother and sister, destructive, constantly restless, stubborn, disobedient, refusing to give attention, and not trying to learn. The boy had a superior intelligence rating (I.Q. of 126), and his parents were both university graduates. The boy's attitudes were partly the result of neglect and poor training.

Another interesting list is one from replies of 5,463 parents. The twenty-five most common faults, in order of frequency of mention, for primary children, will indi-

cate parents' opinions of children's maladjustments. The list and order of frequency is only slightly different for the preschool and intermediate groups:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Slow in dressing | 14. Whines |
| 2. Stubborn | 15. Selfish |
| 3. Argues | 16. Forgetful |
| 4. Slow to obey | 17. Restless |
| 5. Nervous | 18. Pouts |
| 6. Impatient | 19. Talks too much |
| 7. Fears dark | 20. Timid |
| 8. Hates to go to bed | 21. Untidy with toys |
| 9. Teases | 22. Dawdles over food |
| 10. Careless | 23. Demands attention |
| 11. Refuses to take naps | 24. Mischievousness |
| 12. Thoughtless about duties | 25. Tattles ⁴ |
| 13. Excitable | |

In listing these responses by parents, Germane and Germane make this comment: "Parents can more readily sense and express their children's faults than they can their virtues." They also state that many parents confessed that the faults which they listed for their children were just as truly their own shortcomings. Some parents, however, seemed blind to the seriousness of maladjustments, saying that the children would outgrow them. It is very evident that many of the faults listed indicate annoyances felt by adults in the normal self-assertion of the children.

One finds a quite different list of faults when one turns to the findings by these same investigators in answers

⁴ From *Character Education* (copyright 1929) by permission of the authors, C. E. Germane and E. G. Germane, and of the publishers, Silver, Burdett & Co.

given by teachers. The list in rank order for "delinquencies" in the primary grades is as follows:

- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Theft | 8. Lack of interest | 13. Nearly incorrigible |
| 2. Selfishness | 9. Poor sportsman- | 14. Mischievousness |
| 3. Lying | ship | 15. Truancy |
| 4. Stubbornness | 10. Bullying | 16. Discourtesy |
| 5. Disobedience | 11. Disregard ¹ for | 17. Lack of self-control ⁵ |
| 6. Antisocial | property | |
| 7. Unadjusted | 12. Cheating | |

Wickman gives another list of behavior problems of 874 children made by teachers in an elementary school in Cleveland. The first 24, given in rank order, are those which are reported for 10 per cent or more of the pupils. The whole list ranges from 74.7 per cent charged with whispering to 0.2 per cent said to be guilty of smoking. In order of frequency reported these problems are:

Whispering, Inattentive, Careless in work, Tattling, Disorderly in class, Interrupting, Failure to study, Shy and withdrawing, Day-dreaming, Lack of interest, Overactive, Cheating, Oversensitive, Neglectful, Physically lazy, Lying, Unnecessarily tardy, Acting "smart," Overcritical, Imaginative tales, Meddlesome, Sullen, Domineering, Slovenly appearance, (25) Suggestible, Fearful, Physical coward, Nervous, Wilfully disobedient, Destroying property, Depressed and unhappy, Quarrelsome, Stubborn in group, Rude, Impertinent, Carrying grudges, Stealing articles, Masturbation, Enuresis, Sissy or tomboy, Suspicious, Cruel and bullying, Profanity, Truancy, Temper outbursts, Stealing money, Stealing food, Obscene notes or talk, Smoking⁶

An interesting contrast is drawn by Wickman in the ratings of teachers and psychiatrists on the seriousness of

⁵ *Ibid.*, Part I, p. 144.

⁶ E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1929), p. 30.

children's maladjustments. He used the following scale,

Slight consequence	Considerable importance	Extremely great importance
0	4.5	8.5
	12.5	16.5
		20.5

and his scores (Table 5) are the average ratings for 511 teachers and 30 clinicians.⁷ One sees that whispering, which was named most frequently by teachers as a behavior problem, is not rated very high in seriousness by them, and the clinicians hardly call it significant. Yet it probably causes more scolding than anything else, for it worries a teacher who is trying to maintain a conventional order in a large class where noise makes confusion and difficulty in control. It will be noticed that there is a large difference in ratings, especially upon the withdrawing, recessive personality and behavior traits. Yet they are not entirely reversed, and on the whole the correlation is only slightly negative, for teachers recognize many qualities detrimental to personality growth as well as those which disturb class order. If reasons had been given for ratings, there might have been some interesting differences, for each group of raters would have different reasons for calling a fault serious or incidental. Wickman notes the fact that the clinicians not being responsible for educating the children and not feeling the official pressure to get certain curricular results did not feel the same frustration which the teachers did in behavior problems but were thinking of the difficulties in the way of rebuilding healthy attitudes and vigorous personalities.

In their discussion of the problems presented to child-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

TABLE 5

Behavior Problems	Teachers' Ratings	Clinicians' Ratings
Heterosexual activity.....	17.3	9.9
Stealing.....	17.0	12.5
Masturbation.....	16.7	6.4
Obscene notes and talk.....	16.6	8.8
Untruthfulness.....	15.8	10.3
Truancy.....	15.6	10.3
Impertinence, defiance.....	15.0	7.1
Cruelty, bullying.....	14.8	13.5
Cheating.....	14.7	10.3
Destroying school materials.....	14.3	5.1
Disobedience.....	14.1	6.4
Unreliableness.....	13.9	10.4
Temper tantrums.....	13.0	11.7
Lack of interest in work.....	12.8	9.6
Profanity.....	12.3	2.9
Impudence, rudeness.....	12.2	7.6
Laziness.....	12.2	7.2
Smoking.....	12.0	2.3
Enuresis.....	11.8	9.2
Nervousness.....	11.7	11.3
Disorderliness in class.....	11.7	3.4
Unhappy, depressed.....	11.5	16.2
Easily discouraged.....	11.5	13.4
Selfishness.....	11.3	11.8
Carelessness in work.....	11.3	7.1
Inattention.....	11.2	7.2
Quarrelsomeness.....	11.1	8.3
Suggestible.....	11.0	13.3
Resentfulness.....	10.8	14.1
Tardiness.....	10.5	5.6
Physical coward.....	10.4	12.0
Stubbornness.....	10.3	10.9
Domineering.....	10.3	13.0
Slovenly in appearance.....	10.1	7.2
Sullenness.....	9.9	12.6
Fearfulness.....	9.7	14.0
Suspiciousness.....	9.1	16.4
Thoughtlessness.....	8.7	6.8
Attracting attention.....	8.5	8.5
Unsocialness.....	8.3	17.3
Dreaminess.....	8.3	11.3
Imaginative lying.....	8.1	7.5
Interrupting.....	8.0	2.8

TABLE 5—*Continued*

Behavior Problems	Teachers' Ratings	Clinicians' Ratings
Inquisitiveness.....	8.0	5.3
Overcritical of others.....	7.9	13.2
Tattling.....	7.5	8.8
Whispering.....	7.5	.8
Sensitiveness.....	7.0	13.1
Restlessness.....	6.9	6.4
Shyness.....	5.4	12.5

guidance clinics, Paynter and Blanchard distinguish between personality and behavior problems. They list those which primarily affect the individual and his own personal adjustments under "Personality Problems" and those which interfere definitely with the individual's adjustments to the regulations of organized society as "Behavior Problems." Those listed in the first group, when carried to the extreme, lead to nervous and mental diseases, and those listed in the second to delinquencies. Data from studies of problems⁸ presented to the clinics in Los Angeles and Philadelphia (1924-27) are given in tables 6 and 7. The number of children—167 in Los Angeles and 163 in Philadelphia—does not permit any dependable inferences as to possible differences in environmental influences, or other causes for variations in types of problems brought to the clinics.

In the study of the Chicago Institute of Juvenile Research, Ackerson found 139 kinds of personality problems, 155 conduct problems, and 40 different kinds of sex

⁸ R. H. Paynter and P. Blanchard, *A Study of the Educational Achievements of Problem Children* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1929), pp. 22 and 26.

TABLE 6
DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO
PERSONALITY DIFFICULTIES

PERSONALITY PROBLEMS	PERCENTAGE	
	Los Angeles	Philadelphia
Mental conflict.....	44.9	22.1
Hyperactive.....	22.8	10.5
Inferior feelings.....	19.1	54.0
Emotional.....	15.6	3.7
Inadequate.....	14.4	7.4
Fearful.....	13.2	14.7
Emotionally unstable.....	9.6	5.5
Daydreaming.....	8.4	17.2
Adolescent instability.....	7.8	6.1
Functional nervous disease.....	7.8	3.0
Egocentric.....	6.0	1.8
Seclusive.....	5.4	5.3
Neurotic.....	3.0	7.9

TABLE 7
DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO
BEHAVIOR DIFFICULTIES

BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS	PERCENTAGE	
	Los Angeles	Philadelphia
Stealing.....	36.5	38.7
Lying.....	28.7	37.4
Sex experiences.....	23.4	9.8
Truancy.....	21.6	28.2
Disobedience.....	21.6	19.7
Running away.....	17.9	16.0
Speech defects.....	14.4	1.8
Enuresis.....	13.8	8.5
Temper tantrums.....	12.6	27.0
Fighting.....	7.8	12.9
Bullying.....	16.0

problems.⁹ The variations in descriptive terms and classifications and in the records of frequency of occurrence show the need for more uniformity in records and better definition of problems. Comparison of findings is meaningless under the existing systems. The Detroit Scale for the Diagnosis of Behavior Problems (66 items)¹⁰ and the Haggerty, Olson, Wickman Rating Scales (several forms)¹¹ are attempts to establish normative measuring forms, but they are yet incomplete and not accurately defined. Leo Kanner has made a quite comprehensive list from a psychiatric standpoint, indicating the kind of disorders causing maladjustments in personality. His list,¹² slightly modified to reduce the number of technical terms, is practically as follows:

1. Mental disorders intimately connected with diseases of the brain, where alterations of cerebral substance make a condition more or less permanent:

Congenital malformation of the brain—three types

Family idiocy

Mongolism

Brain tumor

Brain abscess—as from mastoiditis

Meningitis

Encephalitis—several varieties

Juvenile paresis—syphilitic

Cerebral trauma—owing to head injuries

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹⁰ H. J. Baker and V. Traphagen, *The Diagnosis and Treatment of Behavior Problem Children* (New York: Macmillan, 1935).

¹¹ W. C. Olson, *Problem Tendencies in Children* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930).

¹² From Kanner's *Child Psychiatry*, by courtesy of Charles C. Thomas, publisher, Springfield, Illinois. Cf. Table of Contents, in *ibid.*

2. Mental disorders owing to temporary metabolic or toxic damage to the brain:
 - Delirium
 - Hallucinations
 - Stupor
 - Coma
3. Chorea—St. Vitus' Dance—somewhat similar to hysteria
4. Endocrinopathies—deficiencies of the ductless glands:
 - Thyroid, parathyroid, pituitary, pineal, suprarenal, thymus, and sex glands
5. Part disorders in bodily functioning:
 - Central nervous system—headaches
 - Digestive system—rumination, vomiting, constipation, diarrhea, involuntary defecation
 - Circulatory system—heart troubles
 - Respiratory system—coughs, hiccoughs, asthmatic breathing, etc.
 - Urinary system—enuresis
 - Muscular system—tics and other habit spasms
 - Special senses—as errors in perception, hearing, etc.
6. Whole dysfunctions of the individual:
 - Intellectual inadequacy—all degrees (e.g., 12 kinds of idiocy)
 - Emotional disorders—jealousy, temper tantrums, fears
 - Thinking difficulties—daydreaming, lack of concentration
 - Disorders of speech—mutism, stuttering, etc.
 - Habitual manipulations of the body—thumb-sucking, nail-biting, etc.
 - Faulty feeding habits—table manners, appetite, gagging, etc.
 - Sleep disturbances—restlessness, nightmares, etc.
 - Antisocial trends—lying, stealing, truancy, etc.
 - Sexual difficulties—masturbation, etc.
 - Attack disorders—convulsions, epilepsy, fainting, etc.
 - Psychoses—major and minor, hysteria, schizophrenia, etc.
 - Children's suicides

Kanner's discussion of these various disorders is remarkably clear and meaningful even to a layman in spite of its

many medical and professional terms. It is an excellent illustration of the needed comprehensive treatment of a special field.

To attempt to add another classification of problems within the area of those especially peculiar to children will probably not add to the confusion. Thinking in terms of personality outcomes, but trying to keep the causative factors prominent, the writer suggests the following categorization:

1. Immaturity
2. Defective bodily conditions
3. Defective mental equipment
4. Emotional disorders
5. Revolt against arbitrary demands of adults
6. Failure to appreciate desirable social relations
7. Failure to appreciate personal worth and possibilities

This classification is not free from overlappings, but a brief discussion of each class will indicate the reason for lifting it out. Problems will vary in seriousness from those which are but incidental mistakes or shortcomings and could be corrected by wise guidance, without conscious disturbance of the individual, up to those which may mean grave maladjustments within the individual or in his social relations.

I. IMMATURITY

When a baby whines or cries, he is likely to be given immediate attention, for the noise worries adults. If he shows temper, he may be laughed at as cute, and sometimes a foolish parent or other person will tease him to make him show off. If he is not well, he may be indulged in poor feeding habits; and, if he is physically handicapped, he may get special attention and become de-

pendent. Many poor adjustments are begun early in life, regarded only as immature and inconsequential, but may be continued for a long time and remain as infantile reactions in a grown person.

Again, at an early age, a child may imitate nervous habits of a father or mother or make other undesirable responses, without understanding at all the meaning or consequences of his actions. Many grow up with fears and excitable habits which have no direct cause and are but the marks of undisciplined conduct. Unsocial, uncooperative, and timid behaviors in a little child are often undeveloped forms of response which could easily be changed if he were given encouragement and made to feel at home with others, with confidence in the knowledge of what to do and practice in doing it. Sometimes a child considerably younger than the others in a family is babied for a long time and finds satisfaction in keeping up his little tricks and manners of speech because they give him the center of the stage. Techniques that a child finds will enable him to get his own way and avoid growing responsibilities may be perpetuated consciously or unconsciously. It is easier to pass by a child's dawdling, whining, clumsiness, or carelessness than to help him correct his fault.

Parents and other adults often protect children so that they do not learn to exercise their capacities or to use thought and discrimination. Schools fail to stimulate the fullest capacities of many children, and in a large class it is hard to develop habits of concentration, methods of study, and interest in independent work. It is easy for children with intellects above the average to become lazy and to let their best talents remain immature. They work

under compulsion or according to chance whims. Crudities in speech and manners are permitted to go unchecked, and often refinements are mocked. It is not strange when an adult world is so full of immaturities, cheap humor, coarse vulgarisms, half-grown opinions, and careless kinds of conduct.

Quarreling, fighting, and trying to get one's own way are other indications of undeveloped sociability. Instead of taking the role of others, seeking mutual gains and taking an interest in the advancement of the common good, children are allowed to follow their animal tendencies, pushing aside anyone who stands in their way and trying to get as much as they can for themselves. Because their imagination is undeveloped they do not see the larger values or appreciate the marks of a higher social form. They use brute strength or animal cunning instead of finer judgments and controlled emotions. Selfish competitive play, with a readiness to take advantage of others to win, is another mark of a low social level and undeveloped personality power. It is pitiful that so many so-called successful business and professional men and women can glory in the immaturities of a madly competitive social world. They have never developed the finer appreciations of unselfish social behavior and still exhibit infantile reactions or perhaps the jungle spirit of their animal ancestors. Yet, in moments of spiritual exaltation, humanity gives recognition to the higher attainments of the race. As more and more adults acknowledge the maladjustments of immaturity, there will be a chance for children to find support for nobler strivings.

II. DEFECTIVE BODILY CONDITIONS

Children who do not have strong bodies and well-functioning organs are likely to follow the line of least

resistance by withdrawing from hard tests, taking an inferior apologetic attitude, showing fear or timidity, seeking protection, and perhaps trying to whine or wheedle their way. A few will seek to compensate by trickery, stubbornness, or unreasonable and unfair means. Some are submissive, ready to accept whatever comes without protest; some overexpectant, selfish, and even cruel; others with undernourished or disordered systems tend to display restlessness, peevishness, anger, or other emotional derangement.

Kanner remarks on the way in which most children adapt themselves to difficulties during illness. Some seem to come through an illness disciplined and better adjusted in certain particulars at least than they were before. But he gives many illustrations of maladjustments which have arisen in periods of illness or as a partial consequence of conditions connected therewith.¹³ Thom also gives some interesting cases of "illness or injury playing strange tricks with personality." For instance, he tells of a child, submissive and quiet, changed into a domineering, disrupting member of a family through treatment during a prolonged illness.¹⁴ Often we see children who acquire finicky habits, techniques for escaping disliked things, bad sleeping habits, or other undesirable ways of behaving, principally because of wrong handling and refusal of adults to exercise firm discipline in a kindly way during illness. Defective bodily conditions do not cause personality or behavior maladjustments, but they may be the occasion for adopting selfish, unsocial, and undisciplined forms.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁴ D. A. Thom, *Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child* (New York: Appleton, 1928), chap. xiv.

III. DEFECTIVE MENTAL EQUIPMENT

One has only to list the types of mental ability to recognize how impossible it is that the lower grades should function adequately in our complex social order. Kanner lists 12 kinds of idiocy and 14 kinds of amentia where there is such restricted potentiality as to prevent adequate adaptation to environment. Idiots, imbeciles, and low-grade morons should undoubtedly be kept in institutions. They can be taken care of better under institutional conditions than in an ordinary home, and they are not in danger of hurting themselves or others or of propagating their kind as they come to sexual maturity. Kanner shows how failure to differentiate the capacities of those of medium intelligence may expose them to aggravating strains or unfair competition with those of superior intelligence.¹⁵ They may be subjected to shame, ridicule, and discouragement through ungraded school tests, when work might be suited to their capacities and they might be prepared for some enjoyable occupation. Those of weaker intellects are more easily tempted to perform antisocial or degrading acts, for they do not as quickly perceive the consequences or the corruption of their associates.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between mental and emotional derangements. Hysterias, obsessions, delusions, and various incoherent types of action are of this kind. The emotional behavior may be an index of an unsatisfactory mental capacity or, on the other hand, mental confusion or deficiency may lead to emotional disturbances. Often persons of low mental caliber take defense attitudes of stubbornness, anger, or cruelty.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 269-71.

IV. EMOTIONAL DISORDERS

Children are likely to be emotionally upset when they are physically below par and find it difficult to make the adjustments necessary to the demands and expectations of those about them. They tire easily, and are susceptible to excitation and overstimulation with consequent tensions. Ordinarily, emotional disturbances in children are short lived and can be readily offset by careful handling. If they develop into emotional habits or acute disorders, it is likely to be due to extreme physical, mental, or environmental conditions.

Kanner names jealousies, temper tantrums, and fears as three of the most prevalent types of emotional disorders in children. He quotes Thom in putting jealousy first, as a commonly unrecognized fault but of serious social consequence.¹⁶ It may begin in a very natural way in young children when they are unprepared to have attention directed to someone else and feel left out of the picture, but it should be watched and not allowed to become an inner aggravation or obsession. Often parents and teachers fail to recognize that the secondary symptoms of compensatory character are caused by jealousy. Temper tantrums are another kind of emotional display which usually do not seem to have any direct relation to the provoking situation. Why should children lie down and scream or break things or do foolish things to injure themselves when something goes wrong and they cannot do as they want? Kanner says that in 64 per cent of their patients they were able to correlate the reactions of the children with drastic manifestations of emotional instability in the home. One handicap in trying to cure these

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

tantrums is the fact that the adults who should assist are often likely to show similar outbursts, even when attempting to correct the fault in a child. Fear is another emotion which tends to reflect the attitudes of associates and which is not likely to be corrected without the help of persons who have overcome the nervous or infantile habit.

The term "neurotic" is frequently used with reference to emotional disorders but is difficult to define. Knight Dunlap says one emotional defect is usually called a "maladjustment," but a person having several is said to be neurotic.¹⁷ The word is used to cover as wide a range of forms as shyness and obscenity, fears and anger, stammering and rudeness, erratic behavior and nervous "tics." Neuroses are commonly associated with nervousness but have little to do with any disorder of the nervous system. There are, however, many symptoms which may be confused with disorders owing to brain defects. Kanner makes psychoses and minor psychoses synonymous, but some would preserve the word "psychoses" for those disorders which have their origin in mental defects and have the characteristic of the child's having lost connection with reality. Any adequate discussion of this field must be left to specialists. There is a field which the layman calls "nervous" disorders and associates with emotional disturbances.

Perhaps nothing is more contagious than emotional attitudes and habits, and children show the effects of intimate contact with playmates or with patterns set by older persons around them. The strange thing is that one

¹⁷ K. Dunlap, *Habits: Their Making and Unmaking* (New York: Liveright, 1932); p. 190.

child catches temper from a parent or playmate, and another child in the same home preserves immunity, or perhaps reflects some other emotional habit from some other playmate or from the other parent. Contagion is not the only factor in producing poor emotional adjustments. Perhaps, as in physical diseases, emotional disorders develop in suitable cultures.

V. REVOLT AGAINST ARBITRARY DEMANDS

Children sometimes seem to turn out "bad" largely because their elders try to make them "good." Children desire to assert themselves, to try out their ideas, and to test their own powers. When adults do not respect this desire and help children to prove their worth, there is conflict, disobedience, rudeness, destructiveness, or some foolish sign of their independence. Many revolts against adult impositions of authority are but attempts of a child to maintain self-respect.

Parents find it difficult to allow for individual differences and assertions of individuality in a family of two or three children, and it is not surprising that teachers with thirty or forty of the same age to handle under restricted conditions have an almost hopeless problem to solve in this matter. Arbitrary commands and strict rules are the signs of weakness, impatience, and helplessness. Conflicts are inevitable, but an inflexibility in an adult is likely to be met by an inflexibility in a healthy normal child. Severity may develop fears, retaliation, or some compensatory form of resentment. Arbitrary punishment for violation of arbitrary demands cannot produce any satisfactory outcomes in personality growth. Instead of trying to break a child's "will" and to make him a ready con-

former to the "will" of others, society needs to stimulate independence, to encourage intelligent questioning of all imposed demands, and to find methods of solving tensions and conflicts where they arise. Psychiatric clinics, visiting teachers, consulting psychologists, and parental conferences are all steps in the direction of better understandings and happier co-operation; for there is a danger of too much independence and "rugged individualism." In a democratic society people must learn to co-operate, to compromise, to give and take, to be reasonable with one another.

VI. FAILURE TO APPRECIATE DESIRABLE SOCIAL RELATIONS

Lying, stealing, wilful destruction of property, and other common delinquencies are probably due to unsatisfying social experiences as often as to defiance of social regulations. It takes social experience to value the truth, to feel the desirability of respecting the property of others, to see the need for, and advantage of, social regulations. Children are lied to frequently and deceived regularly, and it is not strange if they occasionally, or even habitually, use this technique for their own protection or gain. They find their own property rights disregarded—in fact, few adults show any respect for children's possessions, treating them as of no account or as common property. Who thinks of asking a child if he may borrow *his* ball or book or pencil, and in many homes what place has a child for *his* things? A child is not very old before he finds that most people respect only those laws which suit their pleasure, and he sees common disregard for truth, justice, kindness, and most of the social

attitudes he is told to respect. To expect a child to observe higher principles in his everyday conduct than older people do, and to be different from the rest of people, is unreasonable. To make a moral child you must give him a moral atmosphere. Give him worthy examples and help him to see the value of an upward climb, and you will have a ready response.

VII. FAILURE TO APPRECIATE PERSONAL WORTH AND POSSIBILITIES

Children are first of all animals with biological urges, and they are dwellers in a very crude social order. The concepts which they get of themselves and of their possibilities must come in large part from the attitudes which others take toward them. If parents and associates treat them in a respectful way and stimulate them to use their talents and resources, they will know their powers because they have used them. If they are encouraged, they will develop them. But, if they are continually found fault with, given no credit for what they do, and told that they are of no use, what incentive is there to do their best? They need examples of persons of social worth and experiences of democratic, co-operative life where each person contributes according to his capacity.

Most people are not sensitive to the ordinary debasement of social life, but it is easy to recognize the drag on a child when extreme cases are taken. A student worker in a Christian community center tells of a boy who belonged to a gang on the lower West Side of Chicago. He had been attracted to the center after a leader sponsored his probation when he got into trouble for stealing. The leader tried to give him incentives to go straight, but the lad was

badly handicapped. His parents had always expected him to steal his own clothes and to bring in some of the family supplies. His gang called him yellow when he hesitated, and he knew they could put on a cruel pressure if he deserted them. Before that boy could succeed, something had to be done with his home and his neighborhood.

What chance has a boy to be honest if his father makes his profits by dishonest methods, legal or illegal? How much can a boy feel he is worth if his father or mother will sell themselves and their honor for a few dollars of gain? Or, to take another angle, how can a boy or girl feel self-respect if the family is on public charity and has to beg for an existence? Or what are the possibilities of achievement and incentive to hard work and thorough preparation if a father or brother or friend or acquaintance who has good preparation cannot get work. If a child is not stimulated by the religious faith of his parents so that he feels that he belongs to a world which respects him, where will he get his sense of infinite worth and defy the fates to hold him down?

In this struggle to find worth and to realize one's possibilities it is essential that a child learn to face reality. When the way is hard there is a tendency to slip into a wishful world, or a fantastic dreamland. Some people tend to excuse themselves for their failures, to blame others for their faults, or to rationalize their conduct to suit the easiest adjustment. No one can realize his best who avoids reality. Morgan, in his book *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child* emphasizes this need for facing reality and gives some striking illustrations of types of compromise.¹⁸ The younger child will not show

¹⁸ J. J. B. Morgan, *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child* (rev. ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1936), chap. v.

all these forms of evasion, but the beginnings of habits of retreat and distortion may be frequently seen. Perhaps a discouraging factor that is hard for many to overcome is the environmental heritage which gives little hope for any of the realities that attract and stir the imagination, and the only satisfaction available seems to be in ignoring reality and enjoying the dream world.

Children will be found exhibiting almost every degree of maladjustment referred to in this chapter. Hence any discussion of treatment can only refer to special phases and general principles. A few of the underlying essentials will help to make the critical factors in maladjustments stand out more clearly. For the largest personality gains it is necessary that:

1. Each child be treated as an individual with a special set of problems. No two can be dealt with alike. The expectations for each must be different
2. The person or agency that would help a child to correct his maladjustments and to build satisfactory habits and attitudes must take time to study the influences which have made him what he is and the chances for reconstructing those influences
3. Change in conduct come by change in desires and satisfaction in accomplishments. Any serious maladjustment will be corrected slowly, and desirable habits established slowly
4. All the facts in the case be faced dispassionately and objectively and that those who would help the child must be able to keep emotional poise and calm judgment
5. Co-operation of home, school, and other agencies which can contribute to the child's welfare be secured to advance the fullest improvement of the total situation
6. Treatment begin with any convenient phase of any problem involved in the maladjustment. Blockades may have to be detoured until new roads can be built. Compromises will have to be made at every step in view of ultimate objectives
7. Faith be kept in the flexibility and possible development of human nature and, in particular, of the given child

8. Every available technique be examined which has promise of aiding in the given situation. Those who would work on the intricate problems of maladjustment must have an adequate preparation, and their minds must be full of concrete case studies and well-thought-out principles

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CHAPTER XIII

METHODS OF STUDYING PERSONALITY IN CHILDREN

Personality is a complex and results from the interaction of many different factors. It is an organized system of behavior which has a more or less permanent pattern. "This pattern," says Dr. Shirley, "shows up in all the reactions of a child; in a sense it determines how he shall react to any given set of conditions, and how deep a mark those conditions will leave on him."¹ In a study of personality a twofold problem is presented—the analytic task of discovering the attitudes, habits, traits, and other factors conditioning these; and the more difficult work of describing the individual in his functioning relationships, his totality of expression under different conditions. Various psychological schools have stressed one or other of these approaches, but any adequate study of personality must include both. The gestaltists would discount the analytic study of personality elements and give primary attention to the property of wholes. They argue that "when you recognize a tune it is not the notes that you recognize, but the tune itself"; that "a pattern of dots has a shape or design which is not to be found in the dots, and which will remain the same though the dots are changed in color. Different forms, figures, or patterns can be made out of the same elements, and the same

¹ M. M. Shirley, *The First Two Years* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1933), III, 2.

patterns out of different elements.”² The behaviorists, on the other hand, give special attention to overt behavior with the purpose of relating stimulus and response, assuming that there is a definite and specific relation between the two. They are concerned with the possible ways in which behavior may be changed by modifying the environmental stimuli. Another group of psychologists, which includes various schools, such as existentialists, purposivists, psychoanalysts, and other conscious and introspective types, lay emphasis upon the inner state of the individual and seek to uncover and describe the different kinds of feelings, intellectual abilities, dynamic factors, and other subjective responses which they regard as the important parts of human behavior.

Unquestionably, a multiple approach is necessary, and each method may uncover valuable data and contribute techniques and instruments for the comprehensive study of personality. The special danger in any partial approach is that of generalizing upon incomplete data. In the past there have been too many atomistic and superficial cross-sectional studies without co-operative planings or sequential studies to check and interrelate findings. The Child Development Committee of the National Research Council now promises to provide more opportunity for conference and systematic planning of research in this field. Too many theories of personality have become separated from the presuppositions which gave them birth, and the presuppositions from the body of facts which give them justification. In the present state of knowledge, confusion is bound to arise, and conclusions

² R. S. Woodworth, *Contemporary Schools of Psychology* (New York: Ronald Press, 1931), p. 96.

must be tentative; but workers in the field will welcome data and interpretations from every systematic study.

Because of the common tendency to excuse superficial studies and to present findings without scientific exactness, it is well to remind one's self continually of the underlying principles which make investigations significant and findings of permanent value. Some of the fundamental principles involved in any scientific study may be briefly stated as follows:

1. A scientific study begins with recognition of a problem which needs solution. The problem of special significance is that which stands in the way of progress in practical undertakings or in development of satisfactory theory
2. A problem is usually complex and must be broken up into elements which can be dealt with to advantage under existing conditions. The problem must be faced as a whole, but it can be understood only when its interrelated factors and issues are adequately understood
3. Systematic search for facts relative to the problem may be conducted in different ways, but usually experience will prove certain methods better than others, and one method must generally be used to check another
4. Related fields of research may provide valuable instruments and techniques, and conclusions relative to any human behavior can well be checked by comparing findings from different fields, such as the psychological, sociological, archeological, physiological, etc.
5. Records of investigations should be kept in such an orderly fashion that facts may be assembled, classified, graphically described, and the operating principles readily recognized. Statistics may often aid in interpretation of data if records are exactly and systematically maintained
6. Tentative hypotheses may be made as an investigator proceeds and will be made as imagination plays upon the facts discovered. Final judgments should, however, be withheld until comprehensive studies have been made and conclusions tested

7. All conclusions should be subjected to careful testing by impartial judges and under varying conditions. Subjective conclusions should be submitted to criticism of others familiar with the field of study and methods in use
8. Findings should be prepared in such a way that others may check procedures and understand fully the extent and limitations of the investigation, and the assumption and conclusions should be made relative to the study
9. Further research into areas partially explored or to verify other studies may be as important as new studies based upon chance interests

In any scientific study the attitude of mind and the experience of the investigator are as important as the methods used. One must have a scientific point of view, be acquainted with scientific methods, and be oriented in the particular field. This involves such habits and skills as:

1. The habit of trying to free one's self from preconceived ideas, prejudices, desires to prove something, and all that hinders an objective, impersonal, and exact way of thinking
2. Determination to separate facts and interpretations of facts. There is an inescapable necessity for interpreting data and an unavoidable screening in selective attention but the desire for objective findings reduces the subjective errors to a minimum
3. Accuracy and precision in every detail of work, with special care to avoid all "fuzziness" in thought, method, or expression
4. Continual attention on the central goals and total procedure so that one does not become lost in details or in tangential interests
5. Refusal to depend upon authorities, but readiness to use the findings of others when subjected to critical study
6. Use of the best tools available, with ability to modify, adapt, and create as the situation demands
7. Cultivation of the imagination so as to be able to see facts in their relationships, to project and test theories, to hold alternatives in mind and appreciate subtle differences
8. Recognition of one's limitations, yet assurance of one's abilities and accomplishments

The study of children presents peculiar problems which are soon discovered, if not anticipated in advance. The mature adult has long outgrown the limitations of the child, and it is difficult for him to keep in mind the meagerness of the child's concepts, his lack of skills, and his different meanings and values. Most of the tools for research have been developed in studies of older persons and are not always adaptable to children. The child is not so well organized as the adult, and conclusions and predictions from samplings of behavior are not so dependable. Yet the study of children has many advantages and is essential to an adequate understanding of personality. The genetic approach reveals laws of growth and gives many cues to later characteristics.

Almost every major country has contributed and is contributing to the study of children. Many methods have been used—individual and group studies, intermittent and systematic diary records, snapshots and long-time observations, tests and experiments of varied kinds, analytic descriptions of special behaviors and characteristics, and attempts to describe the whole personality. We have many facts about children, in general; more about certain groups of children, and some quite detailed studies of individuals. We know how to get facts about children, but we are not yet sure what to do with our facts when we have them. What do they mean? After developing a very careful study of the character of children, using an elaborate array of tests, rating scales, and other devices, and securing a great mass of data from 11,000 children, Hartshorne and May say in their report:

The mere adding of facts about a person does not provide a very useful picture of him. It reveals his spiritual skeleton rather

than his spiritual physiology. Whether we deal with completely objective data derived from tests or with general impressions, the algebraic sum of these records or impressions, or both combined, is in a sense the very antithesis of the concrete reality which is supposed to be thus portrayed. No human being is an "average" either of his group, or of his own varying performances. The average in either case is an abstraction.

Yet these same investigators were able to take the facts obtained by objective and impressionistic methods and to construct short sketches of individuals which were readily recognizable and identifiable by persons acquainted with the individuals sketched.³ All the knowledge we have of personalities is, of course, the accumulation of impressions—the inferences drawn from indices.

In her report of the study of twenty-five babies over a two-year period, Dr. Mary Shirley promised to give "personality sketches" which would draw together the large range of descriptive material, test scores, and profile graphs; but, unfortunately, her book was published without these being completed. She stated that only a free interpretation in a descriptive and anecdotal style could convey the total personality portraiture. Examples are given to show how a reader unacquainted with the babies might misinterpret the developmental curves, profile graphs, and percentage tables. She says: "Only the human observer is capable of sorting out these factors, and deciding from the assembled data which are the important and which the unimportant factors in the personality make-up of the child." Dr. Shirley shows quite clearly that any interpretation of facts about other per-

³ H. Hartshorne and M. May, *Studies in the Organisation of Character* (New York, 1929), chap. xvi. By permission of the Macmillan Co., publishers.

sonalities must be made by integrating them in the mind of a person disciplined and experienced in the study of those personalities.⁴

We may learn as much as we can about human nature and particularly of children under twelve years of age, and all we learn will help us to understand the nature of personality, and to appreciate the characteristics of any given child. Before any estimate is made of an individual, enough facts are needed to recognize that person wherever we may meet him. An inference from a single measure, or from a few measures, may be unfair and untrue, but an inventory of the habits of a group of American children of two years of age might make us more sensitive in our observations of two-year-olds than we would be if we were accustomed only to adolescents. A list of abilities of a group of nine-year-old Japanese children might orient us in our expectations from nine-year-old Japanese but might not help us much in dealing with nine-year-old American children. Studies of specific skills, qualities of conduct, responses to given situations, and other behavior patterns give us ideas and language to use in thinking and speaking about persons. Averages of statistical scores and composite ratings give us an idea of racial trends. Individuals must be described with reference to something accepted as a working norm, or as a datum from which differences can be measured or estimated impressionistically.

Thus, while we admit the difficulty of picturing a personality, or of finding relative measures of personalities, we do not regard the problem as an impossible one. When an artist draws a portrait, he selects details to convey im-

⁴ *Op. cit.*, III, 19.

pressions, and we judge whether it is a "good" representation of a person or not. We do not expect two artists to portray a person in the same way, but we may have two or more good pictures, and have in them real representations. The best portrayal of a personality will be a partial portrayal, but it may convey a truly representative picture of the individual. In describing the following methods for studying children, it is assumed that many of the methods will be useful only for getting details, and yet even a squint in an eye, or a burr in a voice, makes a difference in a personality. There is no expectation that all these methods will be used in a study of any particular individual or of any group of individuals. But a student of personality should be familiar with many techniques for getting facts about people and also with many diagnoses of cases and human situations. A doctor has a greater number of instruments than he expects to use in ordinary practice or in any particular operation. Some instruments and some techniques may be used only once or twice in a lifetime; but a good surgeon is ready for any case, and his ability to use many special techniques makes him careful and skilful in whatever he does. No two individuals are alike, and the person who would understand any personality must be acquainted with many different kinds of personalities and know much about personalities in general and in specific detail.

For a good summary of methods and techniques available for the study of children the reader is referred to such comprehensive treatments as those of P. M. Symonds, *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct*,⁵ and of F. L. Good-

⁵ New York: Century Co., 1931.

enough and J. E. Anderson, *Experimental Child Study*.⁶ For special methods and description of operations one must follow the records of studies as they are published. In this chapter it will be sufficient to lift out some of the leading methods and to describe some of the characteristics most significant in understanding personality and measuring its growth. Although the techniques employed in different methods overlap to some degree, and although there may be any combination of methods or techniques in practice, it is convenient to classify them under seven heads: (1) observation, (2) questioning, (3) experimenting, (4) testing, (5) trait analysis, (6) clinical examination, and (7) survey.

1. Observation is the primary method of all scientific research. It is the basic source of all data, whether studies are made casually, experimentally, by controlled techniques, or by indirect record. Usually it refers to watching and recording behavior without any attempt to control the response; but it may be used in any controlled situation. Data are sought which come from representative samplings, which can be verified by other observers, and which, if so desired, may be treated statistically. Some of the prerequisites to accurate observation and satisfactory records are:

1. Definition of the purpose of the study, so that irrelevant data will not clutter up the records and that relevant data will be secured in complete form
2. Training of observers so that they will be well oriented to the general situation—discriminating, free from bias, and ready to record significant facts in a systematic and approved way. The skill of an observer may be checked by comparison with others

⁶ New York: Century Co., 1931.

3. Use of a psychological unit of observation rather than a unit of physiological response or an arbitrary time sampling. Bühler calls a psychological unit "an event that has a definite significance and result." The duration varies in different investigations, and will be agreed upon in conference after a study is under way.
4. Development of scientific attitude, so that emotional response does not prejudice intellectual appraisal, and so that observations will be exact, nothing being read into or screened out of a situation in order to attain a desired finding

There is a great difference in observers, for each must screen all he sees through his own judgment, and he can see only what he is ready to see. In order to improve accuracy and thoroughness in observation, schedules are often devised in which the attention of the observer is directed toward certain types of function or certain areas in which factors significant for the particular study might be found. Subjective records are often supplemented by objective data, such as snapshots, movie pictures, sound records, activity products, and other tangible materials.

As records are gathered, they are classified, categories being determined by functional issues, types of information, relationship to factors of the major problem, desire to use statistical measures, or other reasons. If observers in the same types of study accept similar categorization for assembling their data, it is easy to compare findings and to test out the completeness of a study. It is sometimes extremely difficult to put together the results of different studies to get a total picture, or to check the accuracy of any details.

2. Questioning is a natural second to observation. It includes both the oral interview and the written questionnaire. In both there are two special difficulties: one,

to ask questions which may be understood by the child as intended by the adult and, the other, to avoid reading more into the answers than children are actually meaning to give. In his book *The Child's Conception of the World* Piaget has drawn attention to the errors likely to creep in when questioning children. He shows that the child's answers, far more than the adult's, are determined by the way in which the questions are asked.⁷ His conclusion is that the best way is to watch for the spontaneous questions of children and to pattern questions after their expressions. In the interpretation of their answers he says that we must not expect consistency or systematization, for the child has little concern for coherence. The attitude of the child shown in gestures, actions, interest, attention, emotional behavior, etc., are as important as his verbal statements. It is necessary to keep a careful record of these in all descriptions of conduct.

Because children do not have skill in reading or writing before the fifth or sixth grade, they cannot be expected to do much with written questionnaires. Their attention has to be divided among the mechanics of reading and writing, the difficulties of getting and expressing meanings, and the answers expected to the questions asked. For comparative data it is necessary to organize a set of questions which may be given to all in the same way. If questions are presented orally, the child's responses must be made by some mechanical device, or else the investigator must use an assistant. Language must be adapted to the comprehension of the child, and, when any deviation is made from the regular form of procedure, the fact must

⁷ J. Piaget, *The Child's Conception of the World* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929), chap. i.

be noted in order that the answer may be judged in the light of the explanations made. Children are sensitive to slight differences in the form of questions. In studies of large numbers, errors may creep into the conclusions because different children have taken varied meanings from the same wording or have given attention to partial factors. Some interesting methods have been developed to record the responses of small children, where it has not been feasible or desirable to have another adult present.

The data from children are often supplemented by information from parents, teachers, or other persons closely associated with the children. There is a temptation to draw conclusions from the assemblage of facts from many children, without taking into account the conditioning factors in each individual case. One must go beyond formal questions to find out much about children, and an alert investigator may discover significant facts by probing deeper. Isolated and superficial data, whether in small or large quantities, have little value.

Rating and ranking are special forms of the questionnaire. Even a child of three or four years can express judgments of the more-or-less type used in rating and ranking. They can indicate their attitudes and values on simple scale forms. The more common use of rating and ranking is, with older persons, to get a measure of their estimates of children's characteristics. The assumption is that all individual differences are more quantitative than qualitative, that all persons have practically the same traits and tendencies but in varying degrees. In constructing scales various categories are taken, descriptive phrases are used to indicate differences, intervals on a line graphically portray estimated differences, and nu-

merical indices aid in statistical records. Many schools have developed personnel reports with ratings in order to draw attention to details of conduct, to indicate directions of growth, and to afford opportunity for closer co-operation between the home and school in guidance of individual children. The following form illustrates a combination of a numerical and descriptive rating scale:

SOCIAL DISPOSITION

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Vulgarly offensive	Aggressive and bold	Alert active	Hesitant and cautious		Timid and retiring	Bashful fearful	Inferiority complex

It is impossible to assume that the differences between the different points on the scale are equal measures of difference in degree or that the phrases or numbers arbitrarily chosen express the differences, but they all indicate tendencies in disposition and are convenient references for estimating changes in growth. To get any significant measure, the average of several ratings by persons who know the individual fairly well are needed. Even then the average may not be as true a measure as the rating of one experienced student of children's behavior, or of one who knows the child intimately and sees qualities in right perspective. Ranking is generally considered less satisfactory than rating, for it is difficult to get homogeneous groups where the ranking of individuals becomes significant. It is easier to rank persons on such skills as drawing, writing, or other manual activities than it is on the more complex and abstract qualities of personality.

Certain general principles have come to be recognized as vital in the use of rating devices with children:

1. Raters should be acquainted with those they rate in as many relationships and variant conditions as possible, with special knowledge of the factor rated
2. Notes on behavior over a period of time aid the rater to avoid snapshot impressions and reduce the effect of prejudices and "halos"
3. The average rating of several competent judges is preferable to the rating of any single judge. Variations in rating afford occasions for special investigations
4. Phrases descriptive of action are usually more effective than adjectival phrases
5. Raters may give quite different reasons for their ratings and yet correlate highly in their ratings
6. Explicit terms and specific factors used in the scale aid in interpretation of the findings
7. Scores obtained by well-constructed rating scales tend to correlate highly with equally well-constructed objective tests

3. Standardized objective tests are multiplying on every side, but comparatively few have received any general use. They are convenient methods for getting comparable data on many details of conduct, but they contribute more to the indirect knowledge of personality than to direct and total appraisal. It is one thing to know what a child can and will do, and another to state the meaning of what he has done in terms of character and personality. Thus, one child draws well and another carelessly, yet, in another test the second child shows more appreciation for art than the first. What did the first test measure besides difference in the response to a given task? Did it indicate a difference in temperamental state at the time, or a difference in maturity of

skills, or a difference in training and practice, or something quite separate from aesthetic appreciation and accomplishment? No single test contributes much to our knowledge of an individual.

The principle underlying an objective test is that a selected sampling of problems, given in a uniform way to any number of persons where comparative reactions are desired, will indicate the relative capacity of these persons to perform similar operations in similar situations. Working norms for reference are generally averages of selected groups and serve to provide points from which differences may be reckoned. Tests of any kind may be constructed by gathering samples of behavior in meeting selected life-situations, and relative scores may be obtained without assuming any perfect measure of attainment and without passing judgment upon the moral quality of the response.

Some of the requirements for a satisfactory test to be used in personality studies include the following principles:

1. The test should not attempt to be an omnibus test but should seek some specific information in one field of study
2. The range of difficulty of the given sample problems should be such that none of those to whom the test is given may be expected to make either a zero or a perfect score, on the whole, and that none of the questions may be answered by all or missed by all
3. The sampling should be varied enough to cover as many phases of the specific area chosen as the comprehension and limited time of the respondents permit
4. The mechanical arrangements of the test should make it easy to administer and to score
5. Norms should be found for representative individuals or groups with whom it is desirable to make comparisons

6. Results should correlate highly with findings by other instruments supposed to be measuring the same specific factors

4. The experimental method of studying children's behavior may involve the use of all the techniques described in the three previous methods, but its peculiar difference is in the controlled manner in which the study is made. A situation is chosen, or set up so that it may be reproduced as many times as desired. One factor at a time is modified until the effects of each factor is understood. Observations, tests, ratings, or other measures are taken to estimate the effects of a given factor upon the controlled situation, and careful descriptions are kept of the whole procedure used. Once a clear indication of a law operating under controlled conditions is discovered, the conditions are varied until the investigator is sure of the general law operating in the behavior studied.

Many experimental studies have been made of infants, but difficulties increase rapidly as the child becomes older. Until the habits of children are fixed enough to be dependable it is hard to draw conclusions as to the effects of this or that factor. Any form of behavior studied must be stable enough and distinct enough to be recognizable under varied conditions so that causal relations may be identified. The results of experiments with groups of paired children are more fruitful than with individuals. One group is subjected to the experimental factor and the other operates on a similar program without this factor, and the differences in result are attributed to the experimental factor. In order to avoid distractions and to keep foreign factors from influencing the situation, it is generally desirable to conduct experiments with children in normal surroundings rather than in a laboratory or

with special apparatus. Sometimes careful observations of two groups of children, where one group is subject to a certain definite influence to which the other is not, permit an approximation to experimental conditions. Enough individuals in the two groups are paired to equate their conditions in intelligence, economic status, educational attainments, or other factors particularly relevant to the possible effect of the experimental factor. Thus the effect of nursery-school training of a certain kind might be studied by pairing children in the nursery school with others in the community of like intelligence, home privileges, and other advantages or handicaps, and by a testing process discovering the differences, if any, due to the nursery-school training. It is impossible to describe other types of experiments in this brief summary of methods, but the reader is referred to illustrations in the accompanying bibliography.

5. Trait analysis is an attempt to study the behavior of children and their developing character and personality by considering larger phases than are usually dealt with in the other methods. It is an effort to put characteristic conduct into a few categories and so identify the signs of each that estimates may be made of the relative possession of these traits. The designates are abstract terms and refer both to functional aspects and to inherent qualities of conduct. Some investigators have confined themselves to the study of one or two traits, and others have tried to be comprehensive in their listing and description. For instance, Marston studied the modes of behavior which he called "introversion" and "extroversion" in children under six years of age.⁸ Bühler, on the

⁸ L. R. Marston, *The Emotions of Young Children* ("University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare" [1925]).

other hand, classified her data for young children under six heads: intellectual activity, manipulation of materials, learning, social responses, body control, and sensory perception—each of which was described by characteristic behaviors at each age level.⁹ Shirley calls traits in babies “characteristic bits of behavior” and gives attention to seven kinds: irritability, social attitudes, nonsocial attitudes, vocalization, manipulation, emotional response, and intellectual behavior. She says of these: “Each baby exhibits a characteristic pattern of personality traits,” and these traits are generally “in harmony with those of their families.”¹⁰ In his *Studies of Genius*, Terman listed twenty-five traits as follows: health, physical energy, prudence, self-confidence, will and persistence, musical appreciation, appreciation of beauty, sense of humor, cheerfulness, permanence of moods, fondness for groups, leadership, popularity, sensitiveness to appearance, desire to excel, freedom from vanity, sympathy, generosity, conscientiousness, truthfulness, mechanical ingenuity, desire to know, originality, common sense, and general intelligence. These were classified under seven heads: physical, intellectual, social, moral, volitional, emotional, special ability. Terman was dealing mostly with an older age group, but these terms are indicative of the ways in which personality characteristics have been described and rated.¹¹

Strong differences of opinion as to the value of the trait approach have been expressed by different writers.

⁹ C. Bühler, *From Birth to Maturity* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1935), chap. ii.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, III, 3.

¹¹ L. M. Terman, *Genetic Studies of Genius* (Stanford University Press, 1925), pp. 537 and 538.

Hartshorne, for instance, criticizes severely the indefiniteness and inaccuracy of this descriptive method. He says:

The trait names used to identify the several virtues refer indiscriminately to results or situations, to processes, to intentions, and to persons. . . . This ambiguity of reference makes any list of traits or virtues a hodge-podge of descriptive terms that have no logical or psychological homogeneity . . . these trait names may be juggled around so as to mean almost anything.¹²

Cantril, on the other hand, believes that some general descriptions, with their inherent relationships, are vital to personality measures. He finds, however, that short sketches are more valuable than any single trait terms for identifying "real persons."¹³ Vernon also prefers the short sketch and finds it correlates quite highly with the ratings on trait terms.¹⁴ Burks feels the trait approach is necessary even if "the trait may give rise to apparently contradictory kinds of behavior at different times, depending upon circumstances and tensions in the individual." She says further: "Only as we develop techniques for determining how personality is organized, and for recognizing the existence of traits or of personality idiosyncrasies, however diversely expressed in overt behavior, shall we know whether we have yet measured personality in any significant sense."¹⁵ The difficulties in the trait approach are quite evident, but the need for some such method is

¹² H. Hartshorne, *Character in Human Relations* (New York: Scribner's, 1932), p. 129.

¹³ H. Cantril, *General and Specific Attitudes* ("Psychological Monographs," No. 192 [1932]), chap. iv.

¹⁴ P. E. Vernon, "Can the 'Total Personality' Be Studied Objectively?" *Character and Personality*, September, 1935.

¹⁵ R. S. Burks, "Personality Theories in Relation to Measurement," *Journal of Social Psychology*, May, 1936.

also apparent and will spur investigators to the refinement of existing techniques

6. Clinical examination is a practical method of studying children in order to aid in dealing with specific problems. Anything which it contributes to the theory and method of personality study is secondary rather than primary. Nevertheless, the increasing number of child-guidance clinics presents a field of rich resource for investigators, and especially so when those in charge realize the value to their own work of having their records studied scientifically. A great deal of free-experimenting with children in clinics goes on every day, but seldom is there an attempt to control conditions so that dependable conclusions may be derived. Two common dangers beset all clinical workers: the tendency to make a particular case fit an average that may be in the worker's mind and, to keep extreme cases in mind, reading into an ordinary situation exceptional conditions. There is usually too much pressure upon workers to permit any extensive work on a particular case, and even when an attempt is made to write up records, follow them through in a systematic way, and provide significant data, no money is available or specialist forthcoming to use the accumulating files.

The student of child personality will be interested in the medical clinic, the clinic associated with the juvenile court, and the mental hygiene clinic for all kinds of personality problems. In the medical clinic, where physical ailments are treated, there is sometimes a danger of forgetting the personality factor. Some of these medical clinics are performing marvelous cures with children, and in both regular and charity clinics the finest skills and

most unselfish services are being practiced. Unfortunately they cannot as yet give thorough surgical and remedial treatment to all who need it. When society deals adequately with human ills, it not only will give each individual the best chance for medical treatment but will remember that physical disorganization means personality disorders, and specialists in this area will be provided to aid in a complete and satisfactory recovery.

The clinic in connection with a juvenile court is also circumscribed by limited resources and multiplication of cases. It is impossible to be thorough, and sometimes the superficial treatment seems a mockery of justice. The problems are most complex, and the great hope is that the facts presented by such clinics will stir society to a sense of the need for preventive measures and adequate dealing with the underlying social and economic factors. In the previous chapter we referred to the study of Luton Ackerson in the records of the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research. He found 139 personality problems (exclusive of the sex types) and 155 conduct problems, which were distributed in every kind of combination, with an average of five personality and seven conduct problems per child. No single problem is likely to cause a parent to take a child to a clinic, but, when the case gets too complex, professional help is sought. Yet every child has his problems even if he gets along fairly well in a normal home and favorable community. If research could step back into the situations where problems begin, more valuable knowledge might be gained from the attempts to untangle the later complexities.

In a review of twenty-five years of the mental hygiene movement, Stevenson and Smith report the organization

of over two hundred community clinics. They describe the clinical unit as comprised of a physician specially trained in psychiatry, a psychologist, and one or more social workers. In the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul 37 per cent of the cases were brought by social workers, 25 per cent by parents and relatives, and 19 per cent by public-school officials. None was committed directly by the juvenile court. In Los Angeles the court referred 10.7 per cent, social agencies 8 per cent, parents and relatives 43.4 per cent, and the schools 20 per cent. In Cleveland 35.9 per cent came from social agencies, 24.2 per cent from parents and relatives, 28.9 per cent from the schools, 7.5 per cent from the court, 2.6 per cent from medical and health agencies, and 1 per cent from private physicians.¹⁶

In well-organized clinics the staff confers on each case. The psychiatrist furnishes the physical and emotional data; the psychologist provides measures of capacities, achievements, and aptitudes; the social worker reports on the home, school, and general community environment and the child's interplay with other persons. In treatment medical and surgical care are given as required, environmental adjustments are made where possible, and psychotherapy is used with the child and with the adults who control him. Types of cases include gross mental defects and deviations, neuroses, complexes, training problems, and various combinations of personality and conduct problems.

The early history of the clinics shows a tendency to give full and standardized treatments. Today there is a

¹⁶ G. Stevenson and G. Smith, *Child Guidance Clinics* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1934), p. 186.

readiness to make a complete study, but ordinarily the preference is for a relatively simple procedure. Selection of pertinent facts is the privilege of an experienced worker and may be as accurate as at least a hurried review of masses of data, none of which can be complete. The conference gives opportunity for a searching analysis and a proper view of the case as a whole, so that no single factor is likely to block an adequate diagnosis. A clinic of this type offers an unexcelled laboratory for child study, with its multiple approach to the problems involved and its endless variety of cases. It deals with normal and abnormal children, with homes of every kind, and with representatives of all kinds of community influences.

7. The survey is primarily a sociological approach to child study. Its aim is to get a picture of the influences which are shaping the growing life of children in different communities. It uses the techniques of the other methods to get its data and adds special investigation into the socio-economic conditions. Schedules are generally prepared to guide the investigators, and a group of persons are associated to aid in collection of facts. Two types are frequent—the intensive study of a restricted community and the sampling method of a wide area. Great care is necessary in preparation of schedules, instruments, and collaborators, so that uniformity of style may be maintained in the study and records. The workers must understand clearly the purpose of the study and have practice in the use of the techniques and record forms. There is a danger of gathering irrelevant data and of piling up more facts than can be used in any given situation. Statistical devices are essential for assembling large bodies of data and for presenting them in graphic form.

The survey is often useful in educating the public and in preparing the way for needed changes in the community or in educational procedures.

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CHAPTER XIV

INTEGRATION THROUGH COMMUNITY CO-OPERATION

In the preceding chapters we have described some of the most important factors affecting the developing personalities of American children. We have discussed the assets and liabilities which keep the balance of progress an uncertain quantity. There is a wide range of possibilities beyond whatever a child begins life with in the matter of heritage and environmental privileges. Neither parent nor educator can completely control or shape any personality, but there are many controllable factors, and the kind of influences exercised may make great differences in the slowly maturing product. Nature protects individuals from becoming standardized mechanisms or the chance outcome of some adult's bias or ambition. The combinations of elements which go to make up a personality are so varied and numerous that it is impossible to do more than condition a few satisfactions, provide favorable situations for the growth of desirable attitudes and habits, and then add stimulation and encouragement as occasions seem to warrant. Each individual has inherent capacities for resisting attempts to mold him into a set pattern and finds special delight in asserting his own will and in experimenting without interference by older persons. It is marvelous, when one studies children of all economic and cultural levels, to discover to what degree nature has given an individual the ability to maintain his individuality. A wise parent or

educator respects this individuality and helps personalities to grow without trying to fixate a preconceived, favored pattern.

Neither this nor any other book can give parents a schedule by which they can bring up a child. Yet, by studies of this kind, growth of personality may be understood better and adults may work with, rather than against, the fundamental laws of developing childhood. In spite of halos around the children and parents of the past, more parents and educators are working intelligently, sympathetically and effectively than ever before. If it were not so, the increasing problems of a complex and confusing world would soon put our civilization back into the dark ages. A hundred friends and countless agencies serve the growing child today compared with the few who were conscious of his needs and able to help him in the not very distant past. Homes, schools, and communities offer him more to make life meaningful and satisfying and to enable him to find a significant place in his world than the past ever could. Facilities for the enrichment of child life and for furthering the fullest expression of talents are accessible in many forms in almost any part of our country, even to the least economically favored. The interest and creative imagination of adults must first be quickened if these are to be made available to children as they ought at each stage of their development.

One of the great tragedies of our time is that, in spite of all the possible privileges and educational advantages, so many young children have their lives blighted because of adult selfishness and ignorance. Parents and educators have a duty to keep themselves informed as to the opportunities for guidance and enrichment of child life. Human

nature is a fascinating and rewarding study, and developmental psychology is making significant contributions to the understanding of its early stages. Individuals need freedom, and yet that freedom must be exercised in an atmosphere rich with the best social traditions and under conditions which reward social behavior. Children will not perceive the values which expand personality and give it deepest satisfaction unless they find them through the sympathetic guidance of older persons who share life generously with them. The more adults consider the needs and possibilities of children and shape things to support their worthiest strivings, the more life will be integrated for both old and young. It is impossible to conduct business, politics, and other phases of the socio-economic life upon one scale of values, and the more intimate relations of home, friends, church, and school upon another, and at the same time give children an example of integrity and good citizenship. They are sensitive to the different standards of life and to divisions among people with selfish interests, irrational attitudes, and inconsistent habits. They need to find membership in groups which have social ideals, which strive co-operatively for the highest common good, and which demonstrate the practicability of their goals. If children do not find such group support in their homes, schools, and churches, they are likely to become disintegrated and discouraged in their aims and endeavors.¹

To the degree that community forces work together intelligently, with respect for children and youth in their midst, they are proving the progress of civilization. To

¹ S. G. Cole, *Character and Christian Education* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1936), chap. v.

the degree that they work independently, ignoring the rights and needs of the younger generation, they reveal an immature quality of personality in leadership. It is unfortunate that American democracy has not produced more outstanding persons of broad vision and exemplary character able and ready to take responsible positions in local, state, and national government. Good desires and part-time social service, with liberal financial support of charitable causes, will never take the place of a sound philosophy of social living, well-considered plans, and courageous devotion to a chosen task. Evils which have grown up in our social systems because personal values have been neglected will not be eradicated by any superficial measures. One has only to turn to the field of recreation to realize how many times the welfare of children has been ignored and ideals debased. If the best community forces were alert and united, we should have better movies, radio programs, comic strips, playground opportunities, holiday celebrations, and fun without vulgarity for children and young people. If the larger social issues were treated more seriously and with definite concern for the oncoming generation, a planned economy might be stimulating far nobler ideals than our present competitive order is doing. If intelligent and high-minded citizens joined forces to improve existing conditions, they might find life more interesting and worth while, with many a thrill of deep satisfaction. It is because of the *laissez faire* attitude of complacent persons that misery is multiplied, evil is rampant, and many children do not realize their rightful heritage.

Even among those who have caught the vision of a new day and unselfishly spend themselves in altruistic move-

ments, there is little co-operative thinking and planning. These people often waste their energies trying to take part in a number of unrelated organizations, when they might work to better advantage in a more thoroughly planned system. So much time is spent in attending meetings and in devising little projects that are not worthy of sacrificial labor. If people would do systematic studying of large social issues, discover the underlying factors, and put their united resources behind long-time plans, they would find more satisfactory outcomes. If a child welfare program or educational experiment is started by some enthusiast, without more than the good intentions of the sponsors to guide it, one should not feel obliged to support it. Many projects which have been started and many that are being started should be allowed to die, and earnest souls should not mourn their death. Before giving himself to any cause, a person should investigate its history, sponsors, and relation to other movements working toward similar ends. Often larger and more significant enterprises, by providing for distribution of responsibilities and by bringing specialized talent to bear upon particular problems, will produce more permanent results.

A few intelligent leaders, co-operatively minded, may do more by strategic and persistent effort than many zealous independents working for separate interests. Some idealists become hopeless in the face of overwhelming difficulties and resign themselves to what is called the inevitable; but changes are wrought by those who measure their tasks, marshal their resources, and co-operatively move from different sectors to the center of the problem. The attitudes and habits of the rank and

file of parents, educators, and public cannot be changed by any general oratorical campaign. The practical technique is to encourage a few persons in as many communities as possible to form committees and to become responsible for special assignments. District conferences will clear the issues and show the significance of each part to the whole. Gradually an educational program will leaven a larger group, and significant reforms may be accomplished. To launch progressive movements without taking time for preparation is to invite failure. People will gladly support a cause, and especially one in which children are involved, if they understand it clearly and have had time to weave their desires about it.

One of the most promising organizations now working for child life is the parent-teacher association. The 1934 *Handbook of Adult Education* gives the membership of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers as nearly 1,400,000.² Wherever a local association is active, friendly relations between homes and school create conditions in which the interests of children may be definitely advanced and individual problems may be given adequate attention. Parents and teachers learn how to confer and grow to understand each other, while the children feel the common spirit of high ideals and co-operative endeavor. The demonstrations of achievements and skills in phases of education especially directed toward personality enrichment, given by pupils in association meetings, attract attention and present more convincing arguments as to their worth than any formal

² *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States* (New York: American Association for Adult Education, 60 East Forty-second St., 1934).

statements could. Parents see a dramatization, a school band, an exhibition of handwork, a chorus, or gymnastic program, in which their children take part and feel this sort of training is worth while. The informal methods and the freer socializing activities relieve the routine discipline of the basic studies and provide a ready transfer to cultural interests and leisure-time occupations. Many times parent-teacher programs give occasion for united consideration of such community problems as playground space and facilities, supervision, correction of some delinquency influences, relief of an economic situation, or enlistment of support for local improvements. In some places the associations carry on study classes in nutrition, child care, child psychology, modern science, and other subjects which help the parents to keep abreast of children in school.

Health is one of the fields in which co-operation is essential. Not only must sanitation, housing, infectious diseases, hospitalization, medical and dental care, child labor, economic privations, psychiatric clinics, and like problems be dealt with by persons and agencies representing the whole community but few individual needs can be met without intelligent co-operation of several agencies. For instance, a child's nervousness or personality disorganization may not be corrected until parents and teachers have the assistance of a psychiatric clinic, and home and school programs are adjusted to meet the need. The case may often involve the assistance of a friendly church worker, a club leader, or the court of domestic relations. Likewise treatment for a physical handicap, such as blindness, deafness, crippled limbs, or infectious disease, may require the collaboration of home and

friends, doctors and psychologists, educational institutions and community councils, charitable individuals and institutions. So also in the case of delinquents, orphans, destitutes, and others who present many varied problems. Permanent councils are needed to make surveys and detailed studies of needs to prepare the way for co-operative action and to stimulate activity in special areas. Much experimentation must be carried on before the best methods of procedure can be determined.

In further work toward personality integration, adults should be educated to visualize the activities of children and to anticipate their problems in play, school, and other relations. If the problems of children in various spheres are anticipated, children may learn general principles as well as specific responses to specific situations. A child should be able to recognize reasons for respecting the rights of others and to inhibit tendencies to take things which do not belong to him, whether it is in his home, neighborhood, at school, in a store, or anywhere else. Indices like those of Hartshorne and May show that conduct in one place seems to have little to do with teaching in another. This is probably due to the fact that the child's teachers do not help him to relate one part of his experience to another or guide him sufficiently in organizing a social philosophy for daily living. Children need to feel the expectancies of different people as consistent social demands. When they feel close sympathetic relationships between the various institutions in which their lives are set, they may tend to show more unified trait reactions.

Adults are often surprised to see the lack of community-mindedness in children and to find how little

responsibility they have for guarding and conserving the common heritage. Children will destroy or mutilate public property without any apparent sense of serious wrongdoing. Once a year schools may arouse interest in a "clean-up" campaign with the results that streets and yards look much better for a time. But most of the time children litter the ground, deface buildings and fences, break down shrubs, cut across lawns, and even wilfully ruin public and private property. When they go to a museum or other exhibition they have to be watched lest they mar, steal, or destroy priceless possessions. When they go to a park or forest preserve they show no sense of the value of their privileges, but cut into trees, pull up flowers, or do other mischief, with hardly a check by their elders. If older persons show no community pride and are careless and destructive, why should children be expected to care? It is unfortunate that so many public servants betray the sacred trust of protecting our common heritage and use it shamelessly for selfish advantage. Anyone who disregards the rights of the common people, or who permits others to make private gain from public property, is a traitor and should be stigmatized. Any political boss or trusted official who traffics in public goods for personal or party gains is a criminal and should be treated as such. Children should grow up with ambitions to become public officials worthy of trust and honor, and the future will probably require more responsible public leaders than ever before as society moves from an individualistic to a collectivistic state. Moral integration involves undivided standards of personal and corporate behavior.

Churches might act as integrating influences in a community if they could transcend their sectarian interests

and exalt religion as the conservation of highest social values.³ The main activities of people might be unified by relating them to outstanding social needs and goals. Religion should mean the elevation of human worth and the universalization of human rights and values. Organized religion should teach the young to feel these values and to work for their realization, selfishness being branded as unworthy and generosity and social-mindedness being encouraged as marks of good breeding. A church should exemplify the social spirit of a community, focusing its strongest light on the welfare of growing persons. It ought ceaselessly to combat every influence which tends to degrade, impoverish, exploit, or regiment the lives of the common people, exerting a constant evaluating attitude upon all the processes of public life. It should stir the imagination of children with stories of the finest examples of the past and present, stimulating desires for worthy achievements. Religious goals should present opportunities for fulfilment of ideals at every turn of a day's experience. They should be concrete and varied, a challenge to talent and skills, and their contribution to the common good ought to be identified and exalted. Children's faith in themselves, in an increasing number of people, and in the unlimited resources of the universe, should grow by contact with persons who are engaged in co-operative projects of large human significance.

A city is a difficult place in which to rear children, yet only so in a relative way, for every situation has its own particular problems. It is marvelous that so finely tuned an instrument as the human mind can stand the strain of

³ Cf. G. A. Coe, *Psychology of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916), chap. xiii.

city noises, confusion, hustle and bustle, hazards, and continually changing adjustments; that the nervous system can stand the shocks, irritations, fears, worries, and uncertainties which come in relation to so many impersonal forces. It is astounding that a child gets meaning out of so many overwhelming experiences and learns to differentiate values. Yet he soon becomes selective, paying attention to some things, ignoring others, and gradually finding his place in the course of continually changing events. He takes most things for granted, is seldom concerned about how they come to pass, and only slightly appreciative of the best that the past has given to him. It is worrying to him to have to stop to analyze conditions, find the relations of causes and results, and acknowledge indebtedness for what he receives. He needs guidance, however, to sift the wheat from the chaff, so that he profits by the learnings of the past and guards against repetition of old follies. A city presents a child with a strange mixture of good and evil, with some forces ready to take advantage of his weaknesses and others organized to support him in his highest endeavors. If he is not to be left in endless conflict or a helpless victim of chance, he must not merely be taught what is right and socially approved but find support for courageous action. He must feel a confidence in the forces and principles of righteousness. Children too often hear exhortations to conduct which is quite different from what they see in practice, or from what they feel is expected.

One illustration of how co-operation may begin is found in the movement recently started by J. Robert Hargreaves as "An Adventure in Understanding" between the church and public school. Representing a joint com-

mittee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Home Missions Council, and the International Council of Religious Education, he has tried a number of interesting plans in various sections of the country. Introducing school men and religious leaders to each other he has caused them to feel that they have a common task and that they have responsible relations to the home and other agencies of the community. He has organized conferences where schoolteachers, administrators, and pupils have told ministers and other community leaders what they are doing in character education and what they count as of first importance in school experience. Larger meetings have also been arranged for all the character-building agencies of a community to think and plan together, and some interesting outcomes have resulted.⁴ Churches have found ways of using the school experiences and learnings; schools have received a new inspiration to make their work count more in the development of strong personalities; other organizations have seen child problems in a new light; and better co-operation among all has been stimulated. In some cases, permanent councils have been appointed to give guidance to co-operative efforts in the interests of children. Not elaborate machinery but some responsible group who will take time for co-operative thinking and planning is needed to give permanent and dependable character to united work.

Further work along this line is being done by the International Council of Religious Education and other

⁴ J. R. Hargreaves, "Reach the Unchurched," *International Journal of Religious Education*, July, 1936. Cf. *Report of Professional Leaders of Character-building Agencies, 1937* (Chicago: International Council of Religious Education, 203 N. Wabash Ave.).

local groups in attempts to relate the week-day movement of religious education to larger phases of life than has been done in the past.⁵ The week-day movement began as an enlargement of the Sunday school, attempting not only to extend the time for religious instruction but, by using released public-school periods, to reach more children. The first programs were more or less a duplication of the work done on Sunday, but experiments have been made to relate more closely the ideals and principles of religion to the total experience of the child. Surveys of the character-building forces have been made in several states, and plans have been set up to integrate as far as possible the influence which might be expected to affect the child's life. The move of the religious organizations is being generously supported by the National Education Association in its character emphasis, by child welfare agencies, and by parent-teacher associations. The needs of children and youth are being considered by local, state, national, and even international groups, and personality outcomes are the main interests.

In summing up the principles which have been developed in the foregoing chapters relative to the general conditions affecting personality growth, we now recall the outstanding ones that they may serve in an integrating policy:

1. Heredity and environment offer every individual the possibilities of many types of significant careers. They supplement each other, and the resources of each are to be used by an individual as intelligence and experience give him insight into ends worth seeking. A large measure of freedom may be enjoyed within the elastic limits of hereditary capacities and environmental

⁵ Cf. "The Church in Coordination with Community Agencies," *International Council of Religious Education Bulletin*, February, 1936.

possibilities. A democratic country like America gives exceptional advantage to the growing child, giving him freedom to explore life and encouraging his ambition

2. A child's hereditary assets are racial rather than parental. Parents are transmitters of hereditary tendencies, and it is impossible to pass on acquired characteristics or skills. A child may be like his parents in some respects because of similar genetic qualities, but especially so where environmental factors play to advantage on inherited capacities. Outstanding characteristics may, however, be due to ancestral strains reaching well back, or they may result from some favorable combination of environmental conditionings. A child is a member of the race, and his obligation to the larger social circle should be constantly kept before him
3. The growing child must be helped to assume responsibility for his own successes and failures. He can do more for himself than anyone else can, and his co-operation must be secured if effective educational outcomes are to be attained. With normal or superior capacities, a child does not need to be the victim of circumstances but can learn to transcend his limitations and realize a satisfactory life. Helpful social stimuli will give encouragement to individual endeavor
4. Flexibility in adjustments is more to be desired than rigid habits or emotionally set attitudes. Parents and educators should guard against habituating or indoctrinating a child so that he is not ready and able to appreciate differences in situations and to make discriminating judgments in his responses. Every situation is different and requires evaluation of outcomes and concern for consequences to self and others. Moral behavior and successful conduct are flexible
5. Interest in socially significant enterprises is more vital to character than attention to abstract virtues. The best character outcomes are by-products of large living. As the personality grows, it is capable of larger interests and needs guidance to realize its best. Exhortation will not do much, but satisfaction will strengthen even a faint desire
6. Intelligence is more than native capacity. It is conditioned by experiences, language skills, and practice in thinking. Mental

tests may give fair indices, but changing factors such as health, education, and environmental stimuli may affect the degree of capacity brought into action. An I.Q. is a relative index and should be interpreted in the light of the child's social and cultural background

7. For effective expression of his abilities, a child needs a well-disciplined body. The sensory, cortical, glandular, and muscular reactions depend upon the state of vital energy and the degree of intelligent control exercised in regular functioning
8. A child's developing philosophy of life is dependent upon his intellectual ability and alertness, the maturation of his capacities, and the kinds of experiences to which he has had to give thought in getting satisfactory adjustments. A cultured home may support a good school in helping him get a working concept of his world and general principles for personal and social conduct
9. Desires are important phases of motivating forces. Chance likes or dislikes are not to be thought of as fixed and inevitable conditionings, for they may be changed. Parents and educators may recognize likes and dislikes as initial data, but they are no more to be gratified than controlled. Children must learn to inhibit certain desires and tendencies to give more worthy ones opportunity for fulfilment
10. Maladjustments must not be excused because of feelings, emotional habits, or moods. The worst fears, temper tantrums, inferiority complexes, jealousies, and hatreds may be changed and give place to more wholesome attitudes
11. Repetition is an important technique for establishing desirable habits. It should be encouraged under varying conditions to promote flexibility and be sustained by as many satisfying associations as possible
12. Regimentation and compulsion tend to destroy the finest qualities of free, responsible behavior. It may be easier to get conformity than to develop critical constructive ingenuity, but the automaton is less significant than the creative personality
13. Competition tends to arouse less worthy forms of conduct than co-operation. Society provides plenty of competitive

- stimulation; instead of increasing it parents and educators would do well to encourage co-operative projects
14. Wholesome sex attitudes are best assured when the various sex experiences of a growing child are interpreted in relation to personality expression and highest social values. His guidance should be free from adult emotional complexes
 15. There is no fixed line of difference between the adjusted and maladjusted, and classification of a fault is related to the social attitudes of the classifier. Wide variations in opinion as to the seriousness of children's faults are found between parents, teachers, and psychiatrists. The ultimate outcome for personality growth and social functioning is the important thing to be considered
 16. Children may have formed desirable tendencies in personal and social behavior and yet be inhibited from expressing them because of conflicting pressures by associates. It is difficult to measure the various motivating forces which struggle for supremacy. In the face of inconsistent examples of older persons, it is no wonder that a child finds the necessary moral support lacking for his highest inclinations
 17. Handicapped children need special opportunities to gain self-respecting status. Science has provided many ways of improving the condition in different types of handicap, and society should make these available as far as possible. It means much more to release an individual and make him able to live happily than to give him a dole or even a sympathetic ministry
 18. In all educational processes individuality should be respected and developed. There is no average child, and no mass treatment can take the place of regard for individual differences
 19. Children hunger for affection, for sympathetic understanding, and for friendly attention. The home can give these better than any other institution, and society does well when it seeks to conserve the best forms of family life. In its intimate relations and rich human atmosphere it may foster personality growth better than any other agency. It will not be a chance product but the outcome of a well-planned and flexible home policy

20. The traditions of morality and religion are presented to the child in an unfortunate confusion. In order to exalt expressions of personal and social living which give life its deepest meanings, and in order to work toward its highest fulfilment, society needs to rid itself of narrow prejudices, selfish interests, and outgrown sectarian forms. Children should look at morality and religion functionally rather than as dogmas, and learn to evaluate them on a scale of enduring human values

These and other principles which might have been lifted out of the different phases of our discussion need to be repeatedly clarified and concreted if we are to have unity of action directed toward child welfare. There is sufficient good will to do anything which needs to be done, enough conferences to talk about the nature and problems of children, an abundance of agencies working on specific phases of children's needs; but we lack co-operative, sustained, educational procedures which will guarantee effective outcomes in the total personality product. There is no possibility of drastic changes in homes, schools, or other community agencies that might give the needed improvement, for changes of this kind come slowly. Attention must be directed to one specific problem after another, the resources of the community, nation, and world being summoned to meet human requirements. Thus housing, an important factor in building up family life, is in such a state after the prolonged depression that it can be solved only when financial institutions, labor organizations, manufacturers, engineers, community councils, and state and national forces combine to use their resources. Again, though health is an ever present consideration and requires the co-operative action of many persons and agencies, disease will not be conquered until there is some form of socialized medicine and a closer supervision

of health and communicable diseases. The population, in general, needs to be trained from childhood in the principles of health and hygiene, and forces which in any way imperil good physical health must be curbed without delay. Schools have arisen as a co-operative movement for universal education and, when well organized, demand a major portion of the public tax for their support. Advances are being made as newspapers, movies, radio, and other inventions are used in wider planning for the enrichment of the child's life and for his more complete education. Playground and park commissions, schools, churches, and other friendly agencies are combining to meet delinquency problems so that the juvenile offender may be saved from a penal institution or reformatory. The Red Cross calls a nation's resources into action in an emergency or when a catastrophe overwhelms a local community. Millions of dollars are spent to give children the advantage of summer camps; supervised playgrounds and bathing beaches care for many thousands; public and private clinics minister to the sick; vacation church schools add their quota; and other co-operative movements and projects are increasing each year. If a local community will survey its assets, study the experiments which have been tried in different centers, and marshal its forces and resources, an aggressive and extensive program may be started which will correct present evils and give children of all economic levels abundant opportunities for personality growth.

When a survey is to be made of the needs of a local community careful preparation is necessary to get significant data. A spot map of a city, town, or rural district is easily made, on which a committee may see at a glance

some of the assets and liabilities. It may show the distribution of child population; the economic belts; the location of schools, churches, playgrounds, delinquency areas, stores, and industries; lines of heavy traffic; and such other factors as a committee should note. Analytic reports of school records, juvenile court cases, church-school attendance, playground use, and activities in which children are engaged must be gathered, and careful appraisals made. Sometimes case studies of institutions are valuable, indicating their special contributions and their latent resources. Comparative data from other places will be assembled to guide a committee in its thinking, recommendations, and plans. Much material is already available in published form, and experienced persons are accessible for aid in studies and experimental projects. Most changes should be made gradually and modified as circumstances seem to warrant. If a tentative approach is made, with a scientific spirit and care, different persons and agencies may be led into effective co-operative undertakings. But radical changes on an arbitrary basis will wreck confidence and interest. Most people are conservative, wanting to test a new venture before going too far, yet ready to proceed if satisfied that the results are satisfactory.

When individual studies are to be made in personality development, a data sheet will aid in obtaining comprehensive measures. The following outline may suggest the extent to which investigations of this kind may be carried. Anything which is to serve as a guide for educators or clinicians must be sufficiently extensive to reveal strengths and weaknesses, favorable and unfavorable tendencies, and degrees of maturity and attainment. Any

superficial impression or isolated index may give an unfair and misleading picture of the person's stage of development. There is no attempt in this outline to indicate the methods of measurement, for some measures may be obtained by familiar standardized forms, others must be secured by instruments that are yet in the experimental stage, and for others there is nothing but a rating scale, observation schedule, or questionnaire. Progress is being made, but experience alone will indicate what is best and most usable. The outline is suggestive, not exhaustive, directing attention to the need for research in this field.

DATA SHEET FOR APPRAISAL OF PERSONALITY
ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

1. Heredity:

- Health history of parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents
- Mental records of three or more generations of ancestors
- Achievement records of at least two generations
- Family record of brothers and sisters

2. Organic functioning:

- Report of competent medical examiner
- Health record from home and school
- Competency in various skills

3. Environmental privileges:

- Home and family
- Neighborhood
- Friends and playmates
- Physical resources
- Economic status
- Social standing
- Cultural and aesthetic advantages
- Moral atmosphere
- Religious situation
- Travel opportunities

4. Self-development:
 - Maturity of abilities and regularity of development
 - Interests and dominant desires
 - Critical judgment
 - Discriminatory inhibition
 - Persistence
 - Sense of worth, self-respect, confidence
 - Ability to elicit respect of others
5. Sociality:
 - Sensitivity to rights and desires of others
 - Capacity for happy relations with others of different types
 - Concern for social customs and standards
 - Critical independence of others
6. Intellectual and educational achievements:
 - Scores on several mental and achievement tests
 - Rating by teachers in each grade
 - Progress in school and in various subjects
 - Thought habits
7. Emotional balance and poise:
 - Dynamic energy
 - Disposition and temperament
 - Tendencies in facing frustrations, discouragements, and opposition
 - Sensitivity to emotions of others
8. Moral and religious growth:
 - Comprehension of common concepts
 - Indications of principles and ideals controlling behavior
 - Growing sense of spiritual worth and possibilities
 - Widening philosophy of life
 - Appreciation of religious ideas and goals
 - Respect for, and interest in, moral and religious customs and standards
9. Attitude toward handicaps:
 - Illustrations of how difficulties are met
 - Desirable and undesirable tendencies in meeting handicaps
 - Sympathy for others who have special problems
 - Emotional disturbances consequent to handicaps
 - Philosophy of adjustment

10. Maladjustments:

- Kind and degree of maladjustments

- Antisocial attitudes

- Undesirable group pressures

- Rating on faults by different persons

- Records of official actions on the individual's problems

- Present treatment for maladjustment

11. Integration:

- Indications of dominant purposes and controlling motives

- Problems of disorganized personality

- Co-operative forces aiding in integration

- Disintegrating forces and their effect

- Progress toward consistency, integrity, self-critical confidence

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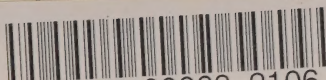
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